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1

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

This nation has the one opportunity of all history to teach the world how men of all nationalities can work together, play together, live together, govern themselves together, cooperate together, and serve each other regardless of any racial or national distinctions. The world does not believe this. It will have to believe it if the United States is true to its divine calling and one great opportunity. Even now, one who knows Europe well finds echoes of it everywhere. The author of these lines himself heard a distinguished German say: "How is it that in America Germans and English can dwell together as friends and brothers, while here we must be forever enemies?" And the United States is going to show Germany and England and the other nations that not only can these men dwell side by side as brothers, but she is going to answer this question: "How? Why?" It is simply that we are learning here that the things we all hold in common are infinitely more important than the things wherein we differ. They are more a part of our real selves, compose our being, make us men, while nationality, race, language, even color, are only clothes covering a soul which everywhere is one and the same. Love, happiness, health, kindliness of soul, are the same in every heart and nation, and are greater than the things that divide us. Here we emphasize these and find that we who once thought ourselves different are really one.

- Frederick Lynch, What Makes a Nation Great, pp. 28,29.
Published in 1913.

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OUTLINE FOR INCIDENTAL STUDY OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

By Mary Wilhelmine Williams.

(Published in the History Teachers Magazine,
June, 1913, now called The Historical Outlook.)

The curriculum in the high school is already crowded, yet teachers want to go into Latin American history in an incidental way. Ultimately history teaching in the lower schools will take on a more practical character, with a smaller proportion of time devoted to European history. Meanwhile, history teachers can aid in the solving of hemispherical problems by teaching the essentials of Latin American history in connection with United States history. The outline is given as suggestive only.

I. Aboriginal Americans: comparison of aborigines of northern and southern continents as regards,

1. Numbers.

2. Culture.

3. Consequent effect on later history.

II. Colonial period: comparison of government in colonies of North and South America.

1. Political.

2. Economic.

3. Religious.

III. Establishment of Latin-American independence: To be taken up in preparation for study of the origin of the Monroe Doctrine in the United States.

1. Influence of the American Revolution upon the Latin American wars for independence.

2. Political disintegration of Latin America after independence of "critical period" in U. S. history.

3. Constitutions of Latin American states.

a. Influence of United States' Constitution.

b. Unsuitability to Latin America of the period.

c. Character of actual government.

IV. Political instability, rulers being military chieftains, called "caudillos". To be taken up in connection with study of: the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Ostend Manifesto, filibustering expeditions, Maximilian episode.

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ITEMS ON COST OF WORLD WAR

Taken from a report made to the Secretary of War by Leonard P. Ayres, Chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff, May 31, 1919, published by the Government Printing Office under the title "The War With Germany", 75¢.

1. The war cost the United States considerably more than $1,000,000 an hour for over two years.

2. The direct cost was about $23,000,000,000, or nearly enough to pay the entire cost of running the United States Government from 1791 up to the outbreak of the European war.

3. Our expenditures in this war were sufficient to have carried on the Revolutionary War continuously for more than 1,000 years at the rate of expenditure which that war actually involved.

4. In addition to this huge expenditure nearly $10,000,000,000 have been loaned by the United States to the Allies.

5. The Army expenditures have been over $14,000,000,000, or nearly two-thirds of our total war costs.

6. During the first three months our war expenditures were at the rate of $2,000,000 per day. During the next year they averaged more than $22,000,000 a day. For the final 10 months of the period, from April, 1917, to April, 1919, the daily average was over $44,000,000.

7. Although the Army expenditures are less than two-thirds of our total war costs, they are nearly equal to the value of all the gold produced in the whole world from the discovery of America up to the outbreak of the European war.

8. The pay of the Army during the war cost more than the combined salaries of all the public-school principals and teachers in the United States for the five years from 1912 to 1916.

9. The total war costs of all nations were about $186,000,000,000, of which the Allies and the United States spent two-thirds and the enemy one-third.

10. The three nations spending the greatest amounts were Germany, Great Britain, and France, in that order. After them come the United States, and Austria-Hungary, with substantially equal expenditures.

11. The United States spent about one-eighth of the entire cost of the war, and something less than one-fifth of the expenditure of the allied side.

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Office of War Information Oct. 9, 1941

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PAGEANTS

The following pageants are appropriate for July 4th:

CHILDREN

1. ALICE'S HOUSE WARMING, Ferris. Everyland, February 1920. NCPW. 5¢.
   Chars: 8 girls and 6 boys
   Time: 20 minutes
   Theme: Indian, negro, Japanese, and other children bring gifts to the House of Friendship and prove that they are all Americans.

2. AMERICA FOR AMERICANS, Cronk. Women's Missionary Society of the United Lutheran Church in America, Muhlenberg Bldg., Philadelphia, Penna., 15¢
   Chars: 2 girls and 2 boys with speaking parts;
   10 additional boys and girls
   Time: 15 to 30 minutes
   Theme: In answer to a wish that everything foreign be sent out of America, a house is stripped piece by piece of all its contents.

3. THE MELTING POT, presented by the Luther Burbank Platoon School, Long Beach, California. NCPW. 15¢.
   Chars: About 200 children
   Time: One and a half hours
   Theme: Folk songs and dances of many lands represent the many people who make up the "Melting Pot".

4. THROUGH THE PORTALS, Sackett. Playground and Recreation Association of America, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City, 25¢.
   Chars: 1 adult, from 50 to several hundred children
   Time: About 1-1/2 hours
   Theme: Children of many nations arrive at Ellis Island with gifts and are greeted by Uncle Sam.

5. UNCLE SAM'S CHOICE, Evans. National Council for Prevention of War, 532 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 5¢.
   Chars: Young children and 4 adult men or boys
   Time: 45 minutes
   Theme: Cost of war prevents Uncle Sam's carrying on the fight against disease, poverty, ignorance, etc.

6. WHO DISCOVERED AMERICA, Hofer. Playground and Recreation Association of America, 315 Fourth Avenue, NYC. 25¢.
   Chars: Narrator and about 30 leaders for groups of any size desired and available; leaders might be adults.
   Time: Two hours, more or less, depending upon scenes used.
   Theme: Historical pageant, depicting various discoveries of America with narrator reading descriptions of each group.

National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th St., Washington, D. C.

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For Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 3, 1941

THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST

By Charles E. Jefferson

"If a man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." So said the first great interpreter of the Christian religion. The statement is straightforward, emphatic, and beautifully clear. Only seventeen words, and all but one of them monosyllables. One does not need a dictionary to read them. A child of six can take them in. It is a sentence without mist or fog. It has in it the note of finality. It is positive, dogmatic, solid as an axiom. It is in the style of Euclid. Paul is not setting forth a thesis for discussion. There are some things not open for debate. A few questions are closed. We say there are two sides to everything, but there are not two sides to this. You cannot say that if a man have not the spirit of Christ it makes no difference. Everybody sees that if a man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his. There are axioms in religion as in mathematics. This is one of them. Like all axioms this one is a basal truth, and therefore a truth to start with. In working out intricate problems we must begin with fundamental principles. The only way to illumine a confused situation is to flash on it the light of an elemental truth. Unless we begin with facts which are incontrovertible we cannot prosper in our efforts to solve the problems of life.

To begin with forms is a constant temptation. It is the surface things which catch the eye and arrest the mind. It is easier to deal with measures than with truths, to frame programs than to mould dispositions, to devise machinery than to create a new heart. Measures and programs and machinery are indispensable. Without them we cannot go on. They deserve not a little of our time and our thoughts. But our machinery and schedules and policies are all the time disappointing us because we have neglected the things which lie deeper. We get into morasses because we start at the wrong point. The house falls because we do not go down to the rock. In this cathedral dedicated to God, in whom we live, and move and have our being, to Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, and to the Holy Ghost, our advocate and guide, it is fitting that before we enter on the work that lies before us, we should think together of some things which are fundamental and all controlling.

Beginnings

"If a man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." Too often we begin and end with the words of Jesus. His words are wonderful. They lie before us in the New Testament. They are often on our lips. It is easy to repeat them and conjure with them. Does the church possess the words of Jesus? Yes. Does the church possess the spirit of Christ? That is an embarrassing question. But if the church have not the spirit of Christ it is none of his. No matter how diligent it is in repeating his words -- "Many will say to me Lord, Lord."

Sometimes we do not begin with Christ at all, we begin with the church, its forms of worship, its sacraments, its orders, its government, its creedal statements, its traditions. But the first great Christian preacher did not begin in his thinking with the church, he began always with Christ. To him Christ is all. If we have the spirit of Christ, we have everything. If we have not his spirit we

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STATEMENTS ON BEHALF OF POLICY OF WORLD PEACE

BY EVERY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Collected by Arthur Deerin Call in the Advocate of Peace, March, 1923

George Washington -
Farewell Address - "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all."
Letter to Jonathan Boucher, 1798 - "Peace with all the world is my sincere wish. I am sure it is our true policy and the ardent desire of the Government."

John Adams -
Message to Congress, 1797 - "It is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations."

Thomas Jefferson -
Letter to Elbridge Gerry, 1797 - "I abhor war and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind."

James Madison -
Eighth Annual Message, 1816 - "A government, in a word, whose conduct within and without may bespeak the most noble of all ambitions - that of promoting peace on earth and good-will to man."

James Monroe -
Address to House of Representatives, 1824 - "The whole movement of our Government from the establishment of our independence has been guided by a sacred regard for peace."

John Quincy Adams -
Inaugural Address, 1824 - "The policy of our country is peace and the ark of our salvation union are articles of faith upon which we are all now agreed."

Andrew Jackson -
Sixth Annual Message- "Our institutions are essentially pacific. Peace and friendly intercourse with all nations are as much the desire of our Government as they are the interest of our people."

Martin Van Buren -
Third Annual Message, 1839 - "It is the crowning merit of our institutions that they create and nourish in the vast majority of our people a disposition and a power peaceably to remedy abuses."

William Henry Harrison -
Inaugural Address - "My earnest desire ...to preserve peace."

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EDUCATION AND PEACE

Notes on what is being done, suggestions as to what might be done, with references to material available in the promotion of peace through education.

Table of Contents

Section I

1. Extracts from speeches and articles for use of teachers and speakers.
2. What organizations are promoting education for peace.

Section II

1. Suggestions and lists of available material for children from two to six.
2. Suggestions for work with children in school; with lists of available material for children from six to twelve years old and of high school age.

Section III

Academic and extra-academic activities in the universities.

Bibliography on Education

Compiled by the Educational Department
Florence Boeckel, Director
National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th Street, Washington, D.C.

June 1924

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HAS THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT PROMOTED WORLD-MINDEDNESS AT HOME?

By
Sophia Lyon Fahs of the
Union School of Religion, New York.

(Delivered at the 1926 convention of the Religious Education Association.)

"The modern missionary enterprise is but the heir of eighteen centuries of the Christian movement. Down through the years what has been the spirit animating this movement? To what extent has the extension of Christianity been rooted and grounded in a spirit of world-mindedness? Has the essence of Christianity through the years been such that its reflex influence on those from whom the movement went forth, has been in the direction of a larger world-mindedness? Or has it tended to promote prejudice, narrowness and a sense of superiority?

"In the religion of Jesus, love had a primary emphasis. In some form or other this love has run like a golden thread through the fabric of Christian history. To Jesus love was the sum of the law, provided it was not merely a love between equals, but also a love of the stronger for the weaker, a love between those who have much to give and those who have nothing to give in return, a love like the love of the Father in heaven who sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust, who is kind both to the thankful and to the evil.

"Very early, however, even with Paul and John, this unbounded love of Jesus tended to be supplanted by a narrower love of the brethren. It is true that these brethren might include both Jews and Gentiles, both slaves and free men, but the God of all men came soon to be thought of by the rank and file of Christians as the special Father of Christians. To them the rest of men were the sons of the evil one. . . . Christians rationalized their attitude by appealing to the jealous God of the Old Testament. He must reveal his superiority over all gods by subduing his enemies and by glorifying his chosen ones.

"Indeed, as late as the year 1791, at a meeting of ministers (of which William Carey was one) in Northamptonshire, for the purpose of stimulating an interest in the organizing of the Baptist Missionary Society, one of the sermons preached and later published as a part of their effort to stir up missionary fervor was on the subject, 'Jealously for the Lord of Hosts.' The favored few were to rise up to help Almighty God defend his rights of superiority over the gods of the heathen.

* * * * *

"The Lord Bishop of London speaking in 1713 before the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, referred to earlier missionary efforts as follows:

"'They by force of arms did strive to compel men to embrace a new religion and vast numbers of those, who did not, or could not presently bring themselves to submit to their doctrines and rules, were put to cruel torture, or inhumanly destroyed.

DOES THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT PROMOTE WORLD-MINDEDNESS ABROAD?

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By GALEN M. FISHER
Executive Secretary of the
Institute of Social and Religious Research

(Delivered at the 1926 Convention of the Religious Education Association.)

". . . World-mindedness means an open-minded, sympathetic and intelligent interest in important aspects of the life of peoples and nations all around the world. . . By 'sympathetic' and 'open-minded' is meant a positive respect for the culture and attainments of other races and peoples, an eagerness to know more about them, and a willingness to cooperate with them. Thus interpreted, the term 'world-mindedness' becomes indeed an exacting ideal.

"How far does the diffusion of the Christian movement among a people perceptibly help or hinder them in responding to such an ideal?

"It is manifestly impossible for anyone to give a categorical answer to this question. . . The best we can hope for in a fragmentary discussion like this is to show that the evidence is not all of one color and that if Christian missions are to be wholly conducive to world-mindedness they must overcome many foes in their own ranks.

. . . . .

"The charges against the Christian movement deal with five chief counts:

"1. Christian missionaries are racially exclusive. However lofty Christianity's professions as a faith destined to bind all races together, its representatives often exhibit gross racial antipathies. This may be peculiarly a sin of American missionaries. At any rate a Korean student, after expressing high appreciation of American Christian idealism and philanthropy, says: 'Americans take a snobbish attitude or look down upon foreigners as inferiors. This audacity has almost become an American trait.' In view of the fact that Indian evangelists have frequently been made to enter by the rear door of a missionary's house it is natural for Indians to ask the embarrassing question, 'If we are all brothers and co-workers why do you not treat us with the respect and confidence you show toward men of your own race?' With similar frankness a friendly Chinese critic pungently observes: 'Missionaries go to China with a definite set of 'Superior' ways of living and determine to practice them on the Chinese for the latter's good.' A more humiliating charge is made by a Moslem who draws the deadly parallel between Christian and Moslem practice, 'In a mosque where Moslems worship their master, a peasant may stand beside a prince and a beggar may perform his adorations close to a millionaire but such is not the case in Christian churches.'

"2. Religiously Christianity is intolerant and exclusive. Despite Jesus' promise that his spirit would continue to lead men into all the truth, Christian missionaries even maintain that the New Testament contains a complete and final

[illegible] for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

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LOVE OF COUNTRY

The Right Patriotism
by
Ralph Waldo Emerson

"We hesitate to employ a word so much abused as patriotism, whose true sense is almost the reverse of the popular sense. We have no sympathy with that boyish egotism, hoarse with cheering for one side, for one state, for one town; the right patriotism consists in the delight which springs from contributing our peculiar legitimate advantages to the benefit of humanity."

Extracts from
Christianity's Supreme Rival
by
Harry Emerson Fosdick
(A sermon preached at the Park Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, November 13, 1937.)

Let us take it for granted that at one point we do not need at length to guard ourselves against misunderstanding. In one sense we are all loyal nationalists, as we are all loyal members of our families. It may be that God can look with absolutely equal eyes on all our homes and nations alike, but we cannot, and it would be disastrous if we tried. Each man primarily belongs to his own family; there are the centers of his affection and there the tendrils of his devotion are entwined. Moreover, this unique allegiance to one's own family, when it is rightly used, is beautiful in its results. Because I have loved my own mother supremely I understand better the meaning of everybody else's mother and know, as I could not otherwise have known, the significance of motherhood around the world. Because I adore my own children as I never could adore anybody else's children I feel, as otherwise I never could have felt, the meaning of parenthood and childhood everywhere. That is what a home is for. It is a hothouse where in a certain isolation of sheltered loyalties beautiful things are grown - affections, sympathies, insights, devotions - which afterwards can be transplanted and applied to the common good of humankind.

Such is the deep meaning of a fine nationalism. No other nation can mean to us what our nation means. Here are the roots of our heritage, and here our central loyalties belong. But, just because we feel so deeply about our own land, we understand how other people feel about their lands, and, using our patriotism to interpret theirs, we grow, not in bitterness but in understanding and sympathy. So all fine internationalism must be rooted back in the noble significances of nationalism.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Nationalism at its best can be beautiful! At its best it is one of the unifying forces of the world. Here in this country it takes folk of every tribe, tongue, people, and nation and braids them together. It is stronger than creed, stronger than class, stronger than race. It takes diverse multitudes and makes them one, weaving America, like Joseph's coat, of many colors and yet unified. But just because we fee so deeply the beautiful meanings of nationalism when it is at its best we hate the more this new dogma of nationalism that rips our one God into tribal gods, tramples on the sacred heritage of a free conscience and makes of our Christianity and idle myth instead of a program of serious social action. Ah, men of Philippi, not all dead yet, who, facing Christ, say still about his gospel: "...not lawful for us to receive, or to observe, being Romans"!

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COMMERCE AND PEACE

RESOLUTIONS OF VARIOUS BUSINESS
MEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1919

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

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Springfield, Mass.

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Portland, Oregon

411 Kraft Building,
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LOVE OF COUNTRY

The Right Patriotism
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TIMES HAVE CHANGED

THE SPIRIT OF "THE FOURTH"

What the National Holiday Meant to Earlier Generations -
What It Has Been to Others; What It Should Be in the Future.
(From the New York World, reprinted in the Boston Transcript, July 8, 1937.)

This is the one-hundred and fiftieth time that the Fourth - at any rate, the anniversary of American Independence - has been celebrated. The first observance a century and a half ago was decidedly nervous. This city was under the British flag. Far up-State Fort Ticonderoga, surrounded by cannon smoke and rattle of musketry, was preparing to surrender to Burgoyne's overwhelming force. Even the bravest patriots doubted whether another year would not witness the complete collapse of their cause. The dramatic events of the battle summer of 1777, whose sesquicentennial New York and Vermont will celebrate in the next few weeks - Bennington, Oriskany, Saratoga, changing the whole face of the war - could not be foreseen by the most hopeful. Had Lord George Germaine not bungled the despatches, had Howe gone up the Hudson to join Burgoyne instead of moving against Philadelphia, and had Burgoyne shown a little more celerity, the first celebration of independence might have been the last.

Looking back over a century and a half, we can see that in the first two generations after the Revolution the celebration of the Fourth had a quality which it has lost. For the old-time Fourth, say, of 1827, New Yorkers stayed in town, instead of leaving it. Travelers and diarists have pictured the fervor of the occasion. Gay booths were erected all around City Hall Park and crammed with roast pig, fresh oysters (a fork stuck beside each plate), barley candy, spruce beer and other comestibles of the time. Some sold stronger drinks. Captain Marryat describes these booths as stretching far up Broadway - "two miles of roast pig." The honorable corporation held a mighty dinner at City Hall, with toasts and cheers which made the bell in the cupola above vibrate. A long parade formed at the Battery and headed by the Society of the Cincinnati (tottering old men in barouches), and the Tammany Society, which ranked next in age and precedence, marched up Broadway and the Bowery. The volunteer firemen vied with the militia in splendor of appearance. Impassioned speeches were made from various rostra. Firecrackers and cannon kept up a continual uproar. At night the town was "illuminated," and Niblo's Garden and every householder possessing a dooryard set off fireworks.

That kind of Fourth has long since passed away. Today we have parades, but they are not given much attention. We have speeches, but every one waits to read - or skip - the brief summary of them in tomorrow's papers. Our millions use the Fourth chiefly as a day for escape to the beaches, the Palisades and the mountains. Most important of all, the whole underlying spirit has changed. A century ago the Revolution was still near enough and grim enough to give every one that patriotic thrill, that fervent reverence for its heroic aspects, which is perhaps best expressed in Webster's first Bunker Hill address. There were still surviving a few veterans, the "venerable men" whom Webster apostrophized, who had fought with Morgan's riflemen at Saratoga or stormed the Yorktown redoubts, or watched their comrades die on the Wallabout prison ships. The United States was the one vigorous republic in a world of monarchies. The principles upon which it was founded and the "institutions" embodying these principles were still on trial before Tory and Bourbon observers. Republicanism - John Adams's idea of "a more equal liberty than has prevailed in other parts of the earth" - constituted a species of religion. The Fourth gave Americans an opportunity at once to celebrate the triumphs of the past and to signify their devoted faith in the national future.

National Council for Prevention of War,
532 17th St., Washington, D. C.

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WOMEN AND THAT "NEXT WAR."

by

STORM JAMESON
(Mrs. Guy Chapman)

The time to fight war is during peace. When war has come it is too late. It is too late then to be impartial and reasonable, too late for argument, too late for anything but making the courageous best of a bad job. Though I may be forced into some sort of reluctant admiration for the sincere and uncompromising pacifist in war time, I cannot force myself or be forced into any sympathy for him. I cannot get it out of my head that while he is safe, if uncomfortable, other young men are both dammably uncomfortable and in danger. I think he may be necessary and salutary, if only because his existence is a reminder, in wartime, of the monstrous fatuity of war. But I do not like him. Nor can I credit him with a greater share of moral courage than was demanded in the last war of any soldier in the front line trenches. He is a man who, for whatever reason, has withdrawn himself from the common agony of his fellow men, and therefore from their sympathy.

No; it is in peace that war must be fought. And the prevention, the making impossible, of war is a task laid especially on women. It is for women to fight war.

Women ought now (with the warning of 1914 behind them) to be examining, with the utmost anxiety, every possible means of making war between civilized nations impossible. It is all very fine for women to show up well in war time (and only what we expect of our breed), to be the tearless mother, the soldier's wife, the gallant nurse. But it would be a thousand times finer, for them and for their sons and husbands, if they were showing up a little better now, if they gave signs of laying to heart the grim lesson of the Great War, if they were swearing, on the heads of their children, that it should never happen again.

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"To Give My Son"!

But no woman worth her salt enjoys a war. No woman can afford to feel romantic about war. No proper woman ought to let herself respond to the excitement of war. No woman ought even to be reasonable about war. She ought to shut her eyes and ears to everything but its cruelty, its train of maimed and spoilt,

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(Reprint of an editorial by FREDERICK J. LIBBY
in the *News Bulletin* of the National Council for Prevention of War, for March 1, 1928.)

ISSUE BIGGER THAN BIG NAVIES

Naval Expansions Based on Impossible Theory of Security. Supported by Misleading Figures and Gross Jingoism in House Committee. Navy Ring Playing Poker. We Pay the Bills. Security to be Found Only in Adequate Peace Measures

Our navy enthusiasts seem to think that "the pacifists," after smashing the "big navy" program down from 71 ships to 16 ships,—15 cruisers and one airplane carrier,—ought to be content. We have private information that the navy group would be well content, too, provided they get appropriations for this present 16-ship program.

Unfortunately for them, however, they have no case for their program. It is grotesquely inadequate for the purposes it is supposed to serve. It is excessive, on the other hand, in comparison with the other fleets, when all the facts are known. It is being promoted by the narrowest and most arrogant jingoism on the part of certain members of the House Naval Affairs Committee. It has become a poker game between the "big navy" rings of the two English-speaking nations, for which the peoples pay. And the ends which the peoples are aiming at, namely, mutual security and peace, unattainable through the rival naval programs, are to be had by means now within reach. We shall prove each of these points in turn.

The Question Not "Disarmament by Example"

The issue is not, as Commander Spafford of the American Legion has intimated unfairly, whether we shall scrap the navy. Our navy now surpasses Britain's somewhat in submarines and destroyers and is somewhat inferior in cruisers, with substantial parity on the whole. Only a little more than a year has passed since President Coolidge in his message to Congress declared, in answer to the "cult of disparagement":

> No navy in the world, with one exception, approaches ours and none surpasses it.

This statement is undeniably as true today as it was when it was made. Congress will appropriate in this session for eight 10,000-ton cruisers already authorized. The budget estimate provides $48,000,000 for new construction, making the total naval appropriation $362,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, or $40,000,000 more than the last year's appropriation bill.

The question now is, Shall we add 5 more 10,000-ton cruisers to this year's appropriation bill, and 5 more next year, and 5 more the year following? And if so, WHY?

A Job for Don Quixote

Mr. Andrew, in behalf of the House Naval Affairs Committee, gives two reasons: first, "the requirements of our fleet;" second, "the naval developments of other countries." Under the first head Mr. Andrew follows Admiral Jellicoe of the British navy in asking for 5 cruisers for every 3 battleships in the fleet or 30 cruisers for our 18 battleships; and in addition he finds cruisers required for "dispersed cruising tasks."

Mr. Andrew makes the mistake of enumerating these "dispersed cruising tasks":

> "(*a*) Protecting our main ports, the approaches to the Panama Canal, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines and other focal points;
>
> "(*b*) Protecting from raids our merchant shipping and the transport of men and munitions; and
>
> "(*c*) Controlling the use of the seas."

Suddenly becoming aware that these are world-wide labors, Mr. Andrew, in the report referred to, steals 2 cruisers from the 30 he had just allotted to the fleet operations, and, since the new program would give us just 33 in all, sails forth with 5 cruisers to protect our ports, our canal, our islands, our merchant shipping and our transport service, and to "control the seas"!

Nothing could be so absurd unless it were the demand gravely voiced by the British "big navy" advocates at Geneva for 70 cruisers as representing Britain's "absolute need," for the protection of her "farflung" possessions, her canal, her islands, her merchant shipping and transport, and to "control the seas."

To enjoy fully the grotesque unreality of these solemn naval gentlemen, with their warnings about "adequate" preparedness, one has only to recall that Admiral Jellicoe confessed on another occasion that during the World War 70 different British ships chased one lone German raider, the "Emden"; that 29 were after her at one time; and the world knows that she was caught only after months.

Germany was bottled up behind the mine fields and the cruising squadrons that guarded the North Sea. The United States and the British Empire have abundant exits for raiders. Though Mr. Andrew were to get double his coveted 15 cruisers and then quadruple those, he could no more "control the seas" nor "protect from raids our merchant shipping" in a war with the British Empire than the British Empire could "control the seas" in a war with us. As easy to spoon the ocean dry as to police it against each other! Why be silly?

As for supplying 28 cruisers to go with the battleships, Admiral Sims is authority for the confident prediction that those battleships in a real war would take refuge up the Mississippi River or in some other equally secluded anchorage remote from danger,—just as the British and German battleships did in the last war except on one or

Wash. Star-Times, War Time Optimism, Oct. 2, 1941

National Council for Prevention of War,
532 17th St., Washington, D. C.

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WOMEN AND THAT "NEXT WAR."

by

STORM JAMESON
(Mrs. Guy Chapman)

The time to fight war is during peace. When war has come it is too late. It is too late then to be impartial and reasonable, too late for argument, too late for anything but making the courageous best of a bad job. Though I may be forced into some sort of reluctant admiration for the sincere and uncompromising pacifist in war time, I cannot force myself or be forced into any sympathy for him. I cannot get it out of my head that while he is safe, if uncomfortable, other young men are both damnably uncomfortable and in danger. I think he may be necessary and salutary, if only because his existence is a reminder, in war-time, of the monstrous fatuity of war. But I do not like him. Nor can I credit him with a greater share of moral courage than was demanded in the last war of any soldier in the front line trenches. He is a man who, for whatever reason, has withdrawn himself from the common agony of his fellow men, and therefore from their sympathy.

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WHAT WAR IS

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Loyal Lincoln Wirt
205 Sheldon Building
San Francisco, Calif.

November 10, 1928

Dear Friend:

This is a letter about the present status of our campaign for the General Pact which is going to the following: J. J. Handsaker, Dr. L. L. Wirt, Paul Harris, Mary Ida Winder, Mrs. W. S. Lockhart, Miss Carrie Wyckoff-Ormsbee, and staff members in Washington. We had a staff conference yesterday at which it was agreed that for the present from Washington we will try to stimulate the formation of local committees rather than undertake the responsibility for State Committees. We have not the money to finance State Committees. The others will pretty well finance themselves. Will Dr. Wirt be responsible for stimulating action in as many communities as possible in Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado, in addition to California? Will Mr. Handsaker do the same in Washington and Idaho in addition to Oregon? Mrs. Lockhart will do all she can in Indiana and Mary Ida Winder in Iowa.

Mr. Watkins is going through the folders that he has prepared as a basis for the organization of State Councils and will send a letter to possible workers in all States not otherwise provided for, enlisting them as individuals along the line of the enclosed letter (Exhibit 1). He will, of course, not touch any of the States that those who receive this letter are working in. This letter is being sent from our office, not to our affiliated organizations, but to individual workers wherever we know of any.

Paul Harris is reestablishing in Kentucky the State Committee that fought the "big navy" bill. This will be possible because he can supervise it personally. He will go on into Tennessee and perhaps Arkansas. He will thus be laying the foundation for future State Councils at the same time.

We considered carefully following up his work in Maine and decided that we should not ask him at present to go back to Maine but should cooperate with the individuals he consulted there in bringing about the organization of

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FOR RELEASE SUNDAY,
NOVEMBER 11, 1928.

532-17th St.,N.W.,
Washington, D.C.
November 2, 1928.

That the Kellogg Pact, officially called the General Pact for Renunciation of War by the State Department, will receive unanimous support of the Peace forces is predicted by Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, in commenting on the program which was adopted at the recent Annual Meeting of this council of organizations.

The policies of the National Council are shaped and directed by 22 participating organizations through delegate representation. The program of the National Council for Prevention of War, which it recommends both to individuals and organizations in every section of the country, embodies three major objectives according to the statement of Mr. Libby: - immediate submission of the Pact to the Senate by the President; early ratification of the Pact by the Senate without reservation; and opposition to the 16-ship naval building program. This opposition is on the theory that increase of the navy at this time is not compatible with a national policy renouncing war.

In outlining the policy and program just adopted by the National Council for Prevention of War, and the reasons for this action, Mr. Libby, the Executive Secretary, makes the following statement:

"I presume that the peace forces of America are unanimous in their support of the General Pact for Renunciation of War. For the Senate to fail to ratify it would be a real disaster.

"We got the other nations to join the League and then we stayed out; we helped them to set up the World Court and we stayed out; now if we get them to sign a Pact renouncing war and our Senate fails to ratify that, our State Department will find it difficult in future to secure agreements with other nations. This seems obvious.

"It seems equally clear that after the insistence by Secretary Kellogg that the other nations help to preserve 'the purity and simplicity' of the proposal,

National Council for Prevention of War,
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GENERAL STUDY COURSE ON WORLD PEACE

based on

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE: A HANDBOOK FOR PEACE WORKERS

By Florence Brewer Boeckel
Macmillan 1928
(Order blank below)

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE forms a basis for this entire course. A list of books is appended for special reading.

. . . . . .

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Project Carried Out by the
Libraries of Los Angeles

FROM BOOK TO BOOK WITH AN INTERNATIONAL PASSPORT
(Christian Science Monitor, February 15, 1929)

Thousands of Los Angeles children have, in the past year or more, found friends in many different countries of the world, through various projects carrying forward the general theme of "World Friendliness Through Books." This theme for the year's reading was sponsored in Los Angeles during 1927-28 by the Recreational Reading Committee, a group representing libraries, schools, parents, booksellers and welfare leaders interested in youth, which suggests each year a theme for reading activities, starting with Book Week in November.

Each member of this recreational reading committee adapted the theme to the needs of the regular year's program of his own organization. Plans were set afoot in the elementary public schools through the annual meeting of "library representatives" — one teacher from each school, selected by the principal to represent that school in library matters generally — called together by the librarian of the City School Library. Along with plans for emphasizing the basic book-week idea of book-ownership was presented the year's theme, with definite plans for its application to classroom needs. Teachers expressed pleasure that the theme offered so many possibilities for use in connection with either reading or social studies programs, and with various ages and grades. World outline maps were provided children in all grades from 4 to 8 who were interested in recording their reading geographically throughout the year. Suggestive lists of books by country were provided, the books to be secured either from the City School Library by the teachers, or from the nearest public library by the children. Children's librarians working with the various schools from the 47 children's rooms of the public library system, suggested further material suitable for the enjoyment of children who were reading geographically.

The boys and girls mounted their "Maps of Adventure" with great pride, and added one by one (as read) the titles of books, where they belonged.

At the outset of the project, exhibits were shown in many schools and libraries, streamers from a large world map linking countries with books on a table below. The concrete indication that Pinocchio came from Italy, Grimm's Fairy Tales from Germany, and "The Wonderful Adventure of Nills," from Sweden, opened up to many children, literally, a whole new world of reading. They had not thought of these things before. Upon examination, it was found that a large part of our best literature is in gifts to us from other countries and peoples. Even the illustrations in our books are the work of artists of many nationalities.

Some children took a map each, and wrote their own names on their own country, making then a "friendship line" to a book-friend found in another country. One little girl living in San Pedro in the harbor district, born in Scotland, had a long "Friendship line" since she chose Hana, in Japan, as her book-friend. International exhibits were built up with objects volunteered by the children and in many places dolls were dressed in costumes of various countries, and displayed. One exhibit showed books of other lands arranged in a circle, with the caption, "Around the World in Books." Flags of various nations were made by the children and prominently placed. Globes were popular at this time, wherever shown.

U. S. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct 2, 1941

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THE PAN AMERICAN ARBITRATION TREATY

By

John B. Whitton, Princeton University

Address delivered before the National Council for Prevention of War at its Annual Meeting in Washington, October 30, 1929.

TEXT OF GENERAL TREATY OF INTER-AMERICAN ARBITRATION

Ten cents

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THE MEANING OF PATRIOTISM

by

Florence Brewer Boeckel

To discover why it is that the question, What is the meaning of patriotism?, is so often asked today whereas it is doubtful if it would ever have come up in public discussions fifty years ago, will perhaps prove the shortest route to discovering an answer to the question itself.

Patriotism, so far as its spirit is concerned, is the same in every age. It is our love of country, our desire for its welfare, and, as a necessary part of love, our willingness to serve it though that service involve sacrifice. But the expression of patriotism must vary, for the kind of service which love of country prompts depends upon a country's needs, upon what will promote its welfare. This will change with changing conditions of world life. It is because these conditions have undergone so complete a change in the last fifty years that the word "patriotism" is taking on new meanings.

The idea that the chief service for which patriotism calls is willingness to fight and to die in battle for the country goes back to times very remote from our own. When tribes first united under a leader, it was in large part for protection against common dangers and common enemies. The chief group function which individual members performed was that of fighting. Somewhat later, when nations first came into being under the leadership of kings, the chief service which the average man was called upon to render the State was to respond to the king's demand for soldiers and to fight his battles. With the creation of democratic government the services which it became necessary for ordinary citizens to perform for the State were multiplied many times. Few of these were as concrete, as obvious, and as spectacular as those which the soldier performs in time of war. The soldier consequently remained the symbol of patriotism. The deeds of the soldier have been dramatic and picturesque and, therefore, have been recorded in stories and songs and monuments more often than those of other men who also have promoted the welfare of their country, often responding to its needs with a heroism as great as the soldier's.

Another reason that we fail to recognize so easily these other patriotic services is that we have never overcome the habit of thinking of our country in terms of the group of men who happen to be in control of its government. It is easiest to think of a country as personified or symbolized by the men who are its leaders. But a country is really all the people. It is to the needs of the people - scattered, hard to visualize - that the patriots other than soldiers respond; but the service that they render is often not immediate and so cannot be easily perceived.

On July 4, 1927, the New York Herald Tribune said in an editorial:

"Of all our wars and victories deserving of commemoration on Independence Day, few are more stirring to the imagination than the victory, won by a devoted handful of American officers and men, which freed the world from the terrible menace of yellow fever . . . . . Their heroism had the rare reward of a complete success. The war against yellow fever, waged with the knowledge gained by the experiments to which they submitted themselves, has gone on until the disease, which year after year through centuries had been taking its hundres of thousands of lives, has been driven from the homes of men.

Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct 8 1930

Borah Pleads for Drastic Reduction

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If Reduction Fails at London, Disarmament Hopes Flee

If this Conference should finally adjourn without lifting a substantial part of the burden now carried by the people for armaments, it would be not only a matter of great disappointment but of genuine sorrow to countless millions of thinking men and women.

The weight reaches them all, and when we consider all the circumstances under which this Conference convened, the things which would seem to favor success, its failure would be nothing less than a catastrophe; its failure would spell nothing less than despair in the matter of relieving the world from the heaviest burden which it has to bear.

The nations assembled at this Conference are the nations which lately were associates and allies in the great war—nations friendly to each other for the soundest of reasons. If these Powers can not agree to reduce their fighting forces, there would indeed be little hope for disarmament in the future. These nations there assembled are in a position to dictate the policy of the world with reference to armaments and with reference to war.

But even a more extraordinary fact relative to this gathering is this: All the Powers assembled have signed a treaty, a solemn pledge each to the other that never again will they seek settlement of international controversies through other than peaceful means. If, under these circumstances, it is found impossible to reduce these vast fighting machines, the people will have but little faith in the Kellogg Pact and far less in the sincerity of Governments with reference to disarmament.

The people want peace. Governments hesitate. The people pray insistently to be relieved of the burden of armaments. Governments, embarrassed by ancient fears, haunted by obsolete traditions, do nothing.

Drastic Reduction Will Bring Security Now Lacking

The great World War teaches us that the more heavily nations are armed, the less confidence they feel in the situation and the less sense of security they experience. When the World War broke, the nations immediately concerned were heavily armed. They were like men going about the streets armed with bowie knives and revolvers—a slight movement is made, a shot is fired and the riot starts. But the world at this time is more heavily armed than at the beginning of the World War. I insist there can be no security under such circumstances. They are so well armed they are all suspicious.

There is nothing, it seems to me, which would give a sense of security, a feeling of confidence, like the drastic reduction of armaments upon the part of the nations assembled. There is the League of Nations, the Locarno Pact, the Peace Pact, every conceivable means for arbitration and peaceful adjustment, and every pledge which nations could possibly lay upon their conscience, and still there is maneuvering and fighting for advantage as if it were a gathering of a great aggregation of unfriendly nations, free from pledges and free from all obligations of peace.

It has been suggested that President Hoover should call our delegates home. I don't agree with this suggestion. In the great battle for humanity, Americans should be the last to quit the field.—Senator William E. Borah in radio speech under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, March 1, 1930.

People Ready to Sink Navies

As far as the average citizen of every nation is concerned, the diplomats might just as well send all their battle fleets to sea and sink them.

But the diplomats are tied up in a state of mind which does not represent the state of mind of the citizen who works the farm, operates a machine in a factory, or sells goods. A few moderate weight ships for policing would satisfy the non-official people who make up the nations.

That would bring about a parity which would leave everybody safer than under the present condition of gun-toting.—*Utica (N. Y.) Observer-Dispatch* and many other newspapers, Feb. 13, 1930.

Better Friction Than Barrenness

The absence of serious friction at the Conference is gratifying, but if it is due to the abandonment of any serious steps toward disarmament, the results will be a bitter disappointment of the hopes cherished since the MacDonald-Hoover conversations. As things are now going, the Conference is getting nowhere and could adjourn any time without serious loss.—*Springfield Republican*, Feb. 12, 1930.

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Straws Show Trend of Opinion

Brisbane Calls Battleships Out of Date

MacDonald, intelligent British statesman, would abandon battleship building. Our delegates to the Naval Conference do *not* want the battleship given up. But for their high character, you might think they had heard the siren voice of battleship and armor-plate lobbyists.

Battleships are out of date, mere targets for airplane bombs, profitable only to their makers, costing 50 to 60 million dollars each.

Perhaps our delegates will hear from President Hoover, who is *not* out of date, and knows that Britain's great battle fleet played no part in the last war, primitive aircraft and submarines making it useless. What would modern planes and submarines do?

—Arthur Brisbane in *New York American*, Jan. 18, 1930.

The fact that Great Britain's spokesman dared to suggest the elimination of battleships indicates that the Admiralty has an eye to that remote day when navies will be reduced to police duty and wars will be fought in the air.

—*Detroit Free Press*, Feb. 10, 1930.

It Can Not Be Too Low For Us

How practical, how effective, and how tangible a result it would have been had the United States promptly accepted Great Britain's offer to abolish battleships. How logical and irresistible would then have been our demand to France that she, too, abolish an entire category of war vessels—submarines. What an achievement it would have been, if within a week of the opening of the Conference, the world could hear that:

1. Battleships had been abolished.
2. Submarines had been abolished.

And how infinitely greater would then be the momentum for cutting drastically into the remaining categories of cruisers, destroyers, airplane carriers. Then arms reduction would have been a fact, a glorious fact, a great accomplishment.

It is not yet too late to hope for such a result. Public sentiment throughout the United States might yet achieve it.

—Portland (Me.) *News*, Jan. 31, 1930.

Parity Would Make Us A World Menace

Both as a matter of historic fact and as a matter of geographical situation, the United States has little if any use of a navy for defense. We never did have real defensive use for a navy and probably, because of the rapid development of aircraft, never will. . . .

By the same token, the idea of American naval parity with Great Britain is extremely foolish. If Great Britain reduced her ships and guns to purely defensive needs, and if we had the same number of ships and guns, we would be much over-armed and a menace to the peace and security of the rest of the world.

—Wheeling (W. Va.) *Intelligencer*, Jan. 24, 1930.

Says Methodists Should Support Hoover's Armistice Day Pledge

As the Conference convenes, it becomes increasingly evident that the battleship is to be its crux. The fate of the battleship apparently depends upon the attitude of the American Delegation. If our delegates back President Hoover in the statement that he made on Armistice Day, the battleship is doomed. In his Armistice Day address before the American Legion, President Hoover laid down the American position in the following words:

> We will reduce our naval strength in proportion to any other. Having said that, it only remains for the others to say how low they will go. It can not be too low for us.

—Alvin C. Goddard, Executive Secretary, World Peace Commission of the M. E. Church, in the chain of *Christian Advocates*, Jan. 30, 1930.

Sink Battleships and Remain Secure

If, tomorrow morning, all the battleships in the world were to be taken out to sea and sunk without a trace, taxpayers would heave a vast sigh of relief and nobody would be hurt. No nation would sacrifice anything.

—Newport (R. I.) *News*, Jan. 25, 1930.

Nations need battleships only because other nations have them. If all of them were sunk, no one would be in danger and the world would probably be better off.

—Cleveland *Press*, Jan. 27, 1930.

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Who Pays? Who Profits?

Cost to United States of Parity $848,814,000

In a copyrighted article in the *Washington Star* of February 14, Paul Scott Mowrer sums up the cost to the United States by 1936 of parity with Great Britain, "as things are going now and provided the French figures do not oblige Great Britain to raise its own tonnage increasing ours in consequence," at $848,814,000. "This means a new building and replacement expenditure of $169,762,800 each year for 5 years, instead of about $50,000,000, the sum spent in the last two or three years."

"This estimate," says Mr. Mowrer, "is based on the following presumption, which seems to issue from the present state of the negotiations here. The United States will build one capital ship, costing $50,000,000; finish seven 8-inch gun cruisers $17,000,000; build 10 new 8-inch gun cruisers, $170,000,000; build eight 6-inch gun cruisers, $120,000,000; replace wholly 47 destroyers, $94,000,000; replace partially 9 others, $9,000,000; build 81 destroyers, $162,000,000; replace partially five submarines, $7,814,000; build 54,000 tons additional of submarines, $162,000,000; and build three aircraft carriers, $57,000,000."

Philip Snowden on Britain's War Burdens

Today we must raise for debt purposes 5 million dollars every day, $200,000 every hour, $3,000 every minute. It takes the whole-time labor of two million workers year in and year out to pay the annual cost of our debt burden. Add to this 575 million dollars we annually spend on war services and 280 million dollars we pay yearly for war pensions, and we get a total of $2,600,000,000 or $5,000 a minute which Great Britain has to provide for war purposes. Three-quarters of our taxes are spent on paying for past wars and preparing for future wars.

—*Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 10, 1930.

Hoover Shows $5,200 Per Minute Our War Burden

President Hoover in his Federal "Budget at a Glance" gave the public a summary of our national expenditures. His statement showed that approximately 72 cents of every dollar to be spent by the Federal Government during the next fiscal year must go to pay for past wars and preparedness for any that may occur in the future.

Of the $3,830,445,231 which Congress has been asked to appropriate for the fiscal year beginning next July 1, the sum of $2,733,213,283 must be provided for payment of principle and interest on the public debt incurred to prosecute the war, outlays for pensions, hospitalization and other expenses incurred in behalf of veterans of former wars, and for national defense—the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and National Guard.

—Associated Press, Dec. 5, 1929.

It will be observed that this exceeds by $200 a minute the $5,000 per minute which the British are spending on past and future wars.

France Takes From Schools Cost of Militarism

France this year is spending $523,000,000 for defense purposes and $121,000,000 for education. Every dollar spent on navies over and above what is absolutely needed for security is a dollar that might have been spent on education, a dollar that might have been spent on rivers and harbors and cheap transportation, a dollar that might have been employed in the production of wealth.

—Portland (Ore) *Journal*, Jan. 25, 1930.

Our Constructive Enterprises Crippled by War Preparations

Billions of dollars applied to floating arsenals and millions more for their maintenance diverted from the construction of roads, health, industry and economic research and the extension and betterment of education—these are sacrifices to Mars which can well make us all pause to think.

—El Paso (Tex.) *Times*, Jan. 23, 1930.

Beware the Vested Interest in War

The retreat of the battleship is also important because it goes a long way toward removing the vested interest from war. If the annual production of 2,500 gallons of turpentine in his State can make a protectionist out of a low tariff Democrat, it is obvious that the chance to bid on a 40-million dollar battleship can make a big navy man out of a pacifist—if he happens to be in the steel or shipbuilding business. When naval craft cost less, there will be fewer Shearers at future naval conferences.

—Baltimore *Sun*, Feb. 3, 1930.

Dis for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

Mr. Stimson's Tragic Mistake

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(From an Editorial in *The Christian Century*, February 26, 1930)

Back to the Peace Pact!

If there is anything clear in the reports coming from London, it is that the Peace Pact has been forgotten. Mr. Stimson has plainly forgottten it. He has been drawn into the spider's web of negotiations on a basis which is the exact opposite of the Pact.

Not only so, but he has abandoned America's policy as Mr. Hoover defined it. Mr. Stimson presented a comprehensive proposal on behalf of the United States offering to scrap three battleships if Britain would scrap five and Japan one, thus equalizing the number of these huge monsters in both navies. Here was, to be sure, a grudging and reluctant offer of actual fleet reduction. But its actual effect was to oppose a reduction of consequence, for earlier in the Conference Mr. MacDonald had indicated his willingness to consider the eventual total abolition of the battleship fleets. Thus Mr. Stimson takes a position directly contrary to President Hoover's assurance that we would reduce in proportion to others.

Hoover Must Lead

The only way out is for President Hoover personally to take a hand in the negotiations. And what could the President do? He could do two things. First, he could insist that the Peace Pact be recovered from the oblivion to which it has been consigned, and be re-established as the basis of the Conference.

And secondly, he could recall the American delegates to the course which he himself indicated as America's disarmament policy.

The Conference is on the wrong track. And America's delegates are on the wrong track. The Conference is on the wrong track because it envisages war, and each nation's proposal is being formulated with the contingency of war in mind. But these nations have renounced war. Mr. Stimson could have prevented this lapse into the barbaric psychology of the pre-pact dispensation simply by making explicit the fact that his Government stood on the Peace Pact, that we had pledged our national honor to settle all disputes with other nations by pacific means, that we intended to live up to our pledge, and that we expected every other nation to do so.

"Big Navy" Interests Making Conference a Poker Game

The Conference has been accepted by the "big navy" interests in the United States as a direct challenge. They were never so vehement and vociferous as they have become since the call for the Conference was issued. They see the whole event as a poker game or a horse trade. Each nation is bent on coming away with as big a navy as the others will allow it to have. The contingency of war, instead of being cancelled from the equation, motivates every proposal and dominates every session.

The United States, instead of protesting against such a procedure, has been drawn into the game. Its delegates are actuated by the same motive and dominated by the same passion. Inevitably therefore the outcome, so far as the United States is concerned, will be measured by the size of the navy which Mr. Stimson and his colleagues bring back home. Success or failure will be determined by "big navy" standards. The highly technical problem of parity lends itself to such possibilities of distortion and falsification when presented to the public that a hostile press can make white appear black. And that is precisely what the militaristic press is doing now.

Conference Treaty Based on War Doubtful of Passage

Mr. Hoover's own success as a statesman and leader in relation to this Conference depends upon his rectifying the mistake which his Secretary of State has made. The Pact is Mr. Hoover's only defense—against a hostile minority in the Senate, and against a hostile "big navy" press.

The outlawry of war is America's peace policy. It was conceived and launched by the United States. Only one Senator out of the ninety-five voted against it.

If President Hoover offers the Senate an armament treaty based on war, it will be in great danger of being defeated by a Senate which would not dare—even if it desired—to defeat a disarmament treaty based upon peace.

Additional copies of this material can be obtained from any of the following offices of the

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Dis. for Study. War Thru Comm. Oct. 2, 1930

Consultation Supported by Typical Newspapers

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"A Treaty of Good Offices"

The proposed treaty of consultation, made at London, that is designed to strengthen the Pact of Paris by providing that the signatories shall confer in the event of its threatened violation, has been aptly characterized as "a treaty of good offices." This is a useful phrase because it clearly separates the proposal from all suggestion of sanctions, of defensive agreement, or of political entanglement—ideas which have, in some quarters, been erroneously associated with it.

There have, indeed, been those who have construed Senator Robinson's recent address before the American correspondents at London as indicating his opposition to a consultative agreement. It is, we believe, both unfair to Senator Robinson and destructive of progress in London to place any such construction upon his able and candid analysis of American public opinion.

Thus Senator Robinson rightly declares that the people of the United States are determined to avoid "involvement in European politics;" that they will oppose obligating their government "to employ the army or navy for enforcement" of peace; and that they do not wish "to join in guarantees of security respecting areas remote from territory or possessions of the United States."

Senator Robinson's remarks are well taken. They mark a step away from the theory of sanctions and regional pacts of mutual defense. Happily, however, the specific proposal now before the London conference does not involve any of these commitments nor any of these dangers. In such an agreement there is no involvement in European politics; in such an agreement there is no obligation to employ the army or the navy; in such an agreement there are no regional guarantees.

The proposal deserves the fullest support of the American delegation—of every delegation—at London. It holds the key to great success in naval reduction.—*Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 24, 1930.

Our People Must Demand Acceptance of Our World Responsibility

If the money goes for warships that may never be used and that would be built merely to gratify our pride in having a navy as big as England's, it can not be spent on ship canals and other developments that mean so much for the progress of the nation . . .

Thus we find our boasted isolation a mere fallacy. The United States is vitally concerned in everything that goes on in every part of the world, no matter how remote. It is time for the American people to realize the fact and to insist that this country join openly with other leading powers in assuming the burdens and responsibilities of handling and directing world affairs. Were the United States to do this, the question of security as an excuse for burdening peoples of the earth with great standing armies and costly navies would largely disappear.—*Perth Amboy (N. J.) News*, Feb. 17, 1930.

French Request Not Unreasonable

France now proposes two political treaties, to be open to signature by all nations.

The first constitutes a pledge among all signatories of the proposed London treaties, and any other nations willing to sign, that in case the peace of the world is endangered by threatened violation of the pledge of the Kellogg Pact, the signatory nations will immediately confer together in effort to prevent or halt the disruption of peace. The second French proposal is that all signatories bind themselves to refuse to send supplies of any kind to any violator of the Kellogg Pact covenant against war.

These are by no means unreasonable proposals. The first, as a matter of simple fact, is present by plain implication in the second article of the Kellogg Pact itself. It is impossible to translate this pledge into any other terms than those of conferring and discussing and negotiating settlements.

The proposal for automatic fiscal and economic boycott of the offending Power will require more discussion and clarification before this nation can accept it. Yet here again, in the Capper Resolution, our Senate has had the subject brought before it by previous American initiative.

If these two treaty suggestions represent pledges strong enough to satisfy France, they should not be dismissed without careful and thoroughgoing study on their merits.—*Boston Globe*, Feb. 14, 1930.

Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 2, 1930

Who Will Bring the Conference Back to Realities?

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London, March 1—This conference needs to be shocked out of its concentration on details. Somebody—Hoover, MacDonald, Stimson—or another in high place, needs to touch the vital spark and illuminate the realities. Somebody in high place whose voice will be heard in all nations needs to direct attention of delegates and masses alike to the simple massive fact that great navies are unnecessary to anybody's safety, are an indefensible burden upon the generation which is still paying for the last slaughter and are a menace to the coming generation, which deserves a fair break without the handicap of inherited war-provoking idiocies. Somebody needs to make it plain to the whole world that if this Conference fails, the Governments of the world are intellectually and morally too incapable to deserve the respect of a ditch digger.—JOHN W. OWENS, Editor, in a special cable to the *Baltimore Sun*.

Mr. Hoover Will Decide

The proposal is that, without obligating any nation to take any given step in the way of warning or economic boycott or an actual show of force, the duty will be accepted to confer, whenever an event or crisis arises which threatens a hostile collision.

Quite clearly it would be within the range of ideas which President Hoover advanced in his Armistice Day speech. Again and again he referred to the need of "a frank recognition of forces which may disturb peace"; to the fact that we should inevitably be involved in any great controversy that hereafter convulsed the world; and that "what we urgently need is a further development of methods for the reference of unsettled controversies to joint inquiry assisted by friendly nations, in order that action may be stayed and that the aggressor may be subjected to the searchlight of public opinion."

M. Briand himself could not use language pointing more directly to an agreement by the United States to join in any international council for prevention of war. If we did join it, our hands would be still unfettered. All that we should promise would be to sit down and reason together with the others. At any moment we should be at liberty to withdraw. By any decision reached we could refuse to be committed. But in the mere fact of consulting and of having promised to consult, there would be found an immense deterrent to war.

Some such plan, it is reported from London, will soon be laid before President Hoover. It will then be for him to decide whether he will take his courage in both hands and approve it as a necessary means of bringing about that lightening of the naval burdens of the world upon which he has not only set his heart but staked the success of his administration.—*New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1930.

Bold Policy Will Win

The London Naval Conference has reached a point where a substantial success, that is to say, a success which people would recognize, almost certainly depends upon making some bold advance in the political organization of peace. There is little doubt that if Mr. Hoover proposed an agreement to consult with the other Powers in the event of a threatened war, a five-Power treaty limiting all classes and substantially reducing several classes would result. We can not believe that Mr. Hoover would regard such an agreement as any thing but desirable. Yet he hesitates to propose it. Why does he hesitate? Is it not obvious that he is reluctant to face the uproar of the isolationists?

In the mood which now prevails in Congress he can get nowhere by trying to avoid trouble. A defensive policy will simply be interpreted as a sign of weakness, which in fact it would be, and would invite even stronger opposition. Mr. Hoover's one hope is to be bold, and by his boldness to re-establish his leadership, and by his leadership to rally his friends.—*New York World*, February 19, 1930.

Have a Few Senators Cowed Our Government?

Why should the United States, which has put itself so strongly behind the Kellogg Treaty for the Renunciation of War, hesitate to promise to confer to prevent a threatened war? Is the Government still cowed by the blustering of a few Senators? President Hoover may well take his courage in both hands and move forward along the line of completing the Kellogg Treaty as Justice Hughes has suggested. A bold step in this direction at this time might give new life to the Conference, which was to have been one of the outstanding features of the Hoover administration.—*Newark (N. J.) News*, Feb. 18, 1930.

National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.

SUGGESTIONS FOR MODEL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

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as arranged by Dr. Arba J. Marsh and given November 8, 1931 in the United Congregational Church of Lawrence, Mass., of which he is pastor.

The Chairman and delegates of the nations enter separately from both sides and are seated behind and at the ends of the long table on the platform. If given in a church, the choir sings "These Things Shall Be," while the delegates are taking their places.

CHAIRMAN: (This is for Sunday evening, November 8. There will be a rehearsal promptly at 4:00 that afternoon. You will have a handful of papers which you will place on the table before you. This copy may be on top and you may refer to it while you speak. Be very familiar with it. Speak very distinctly. You are the first speaker.)

Gentlemen, if we perform the task for which we are sent here to Geneva today, by our several nations, this date, February the second. 1932, will become one of the most important dates in the history of nations, perhaps second in importance only to that date which separates BC from AD. We are under at least two distinct obligations to reduce our armaments. By the Versailles Treaty with Germany, in which we let it be distinctly understood that in requiring her to disarm, the other nations would likewise greatly reduce their armaments. That pledge as yet has not been fulfilled. There are today more soldiers under arms than before the World War. We are sent here to Geneva to provide for the fulfilment of these pledges. Again, 58 nations have ratified the provisions of the Briand-Kellogg World Peace Pact wherein we agree as follows: - "Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process The High Contracting Parties solemnly condemn recourse to war and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations to one another, and agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature shall never be sought except by pacific means."

Gentlemen, this plainly implies disarmament. The very possibility of such a gathering as this for such a purpose marks a very long step in the way of the abolition of war and of all the proposals for the economic rehabilitation of the world, there is none which compares in necessity of importance with the successful result of this conference.

THE UNITED STATES:

Sirs, I represent the United States of America. So far as we can see into the future the United States is not in the slightest danger of aggression. In no single power and in no possible combination of powers lies any menace to our security. There is no reason why we should demonstrate our power to take care of ourselves for no one doubts it. Yet we are today expending for our army and navy and for our air forces an amount of money greater than any other nation in the world. We are obligated by our separate treaty with Germany at the close of the war and we are further obligated under the provisions of the Pact of Paris which we had a large share in initiating, to reduce our armaments. I am authorized to state that we are willing to agree to any reduction, however drastic, of naval tonnage which leaves no type of war vessel unrestricted. My government has always felt that we need no exact balance of ships and guns which can be based only upon the idea of conflict. What is really needed is a common sense

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

December, 1931.

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WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT DISARMAMENT

"Of all proposals for the economic rehabilitation of the world, I know of none which compares in necessity or importance with the successful result of the World Disarmament Conference." - President Hoover, Address to the International Chamber of Commerce, May 4, 1931.

"The only hope for the cause of disarmament, a cause which in some measure is the cause of civilization itself, lies in an aroused, well-organized and well-directed public opinion." - Senator Borah, New York Times, Nov.28, 1931.

"Successful conferences are not arranged over night by delegates sitting behind closed doors. These delegates are mere representatives of their fellow-citizens and if these citizens take no intelligent interest in the subject matter of the conference . . . their representatives cannot act with that assurance and confidence which alone can lead to a successful issue." - Pierre De L. Boal, Department of State, October 24, 1931.

"At the Disarmament Conference as elsewhere - and I say this as an old political hand - the governments will do what the peoples want. If the peoples want disarmament they can have it. If they will exert their will they can compel results." - Arthur Henderson, British Foreign Minister, 1931.

"Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty." - George Washington, Farewell Address.

"It is really a strange thing that there should not be room enough in the world for men to live without cutting one another's throats." - George Washington, June, 1788.

"The spirit of this country is totally adverse to a large military force." - Thomas Jefferson.

"Fear and suspicion will never slacken unless we can halt competitive construction of arms. They will never disappear unless we can turn this tide toward actual reduction." - President Hoover, Memorial Day Address, May 30, 1929.

"Competitive armaments constitute one of the most dangerous contributing causes of international suspicion and discord and are calculated eventually to lead to war." - President Coolidge, Message to Congress, 1927.

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE EXHIBIT

Arranged at Ripon, Wisconsin
1932

For additional information write
Ethel L. Bryan, 215 Elm Street,
Ripon, Wisconsin.

The idea of a Ripon international trade exhibit was first proposed at a women's club which had been studying international affairs. A committee of two was appointed to get in touch with other organizations and make it a community project. After several weeks of conference with officials a general meeting was called and the remarkable exhibit which resulted is described in the attached sheets.

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

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1932 - PARTY PLATFORMS - 1932
and
World Peace

Democratic

General: A firm foreign policy including: peace with all the world and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; no interference in the internal affairs of other nations; the sanctity of treaties, and the maintenance of good faith and of goodwill in financial obligations.

The Party Advocates:

World Court: Adherence to the World Court with the pending reservations.

Kellogg Pact: The Pact of Paris abolishing war as an instrument of national policy, to be made effective by provisions for consultation and conference in case of threatened violation of treaties.

Republican

General: The party will continue to maintain its attitude of protecting our national interests and policies wherever threatened but at the same time promoting common understanding of the varying needs and aspirations of other nations and going forward in harmony with other peoples without alliances or foreign partnerships.

The facilitation of world intercourse, the freeing of commerce from unnecessary impediments, the settlement of international difficulties by conciliation and the methods of law and the elimination of war as a resort of national policy have been and will be our party program.

World Court: The acceptance by America of membership in the World Court has been approved by three successive Republican Presidents and we commend this attitude of supporting in this form the settlement of international disputes by the rule of law. America should join its influence and gain a voice in this institution, which would offer us a safer, more judicial and expeditious instrument for the constantly recurring questions between us and other nations than is now available by arbitration.

Kellogg Pact: In the application of the principles of the Kellogg Pact the American Government has taken the lead, following the principle that a breach of the Pact or a threat of infringement thereof was a matter of international concern wherever and however brought about.

As a further step(in the controversy between Japan and China) the Secretary of State...adopted the principle...that this government would not recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement brought about ...by force and in defiance of the Kellogg Pact...the principle remains today as an important contribution.

COMBINED SERVICE - YOUNG PEOPLE'S DIVISIONS OF CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH SCHOOL (Hartford, Conn.)

May 28, 1933

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Hymn (Tune-"America")

Land of the brave and free,
Stretching from sea to sea,
O'er thee again,
Where once our armies bore
The blood-stained flag of war,
Now far, from shore to shore,
Sweet peace shall reign!

Beneath thy banner bright,
In glorious morning light,
Nations shall stand,
Brothers in amity:
Far o'er the sounding sea,
In peace and charity
Linked hand to hand.

Welcome the coming day,
As nations far away
Wake to thy call!
Spread the white banner wide
Until the swelling tide
Sweeping to every side,
Brings peace to all. By A.D.Ropes-from "Songs of Peace."

A Litany of Goodwill and Peace

Leader:- We look for a City which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God
Yet have we not forgotten that in this city all must have a share, including those races which we are accustomed to term backward?

Response:-Have we not failed to realize the contribution which every race can make to true civilization?
Have we not been guilty of limiting our gifts of friendship to men and women whose skins match our own in color?

Leader:- We look for a City which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.
Yet do we not see it still only in terms of our own national ideals?

Response:-Have we allowed national prejudices, fears and hatreds to inflame our minds and warp our judgments?
Have we not been ready to answer offence with offence, violence with violence and thus prepare the way for war?

Leader:- That the city of God may be built, we are firmly resolved to love all men as our brothers
To see in all men, of whatever race or color, heirs of the Kingdom to be, joint builders with us of the City of God:

All:- We are firmly resolved:
To do all in our power to prevent the exploitation of weaker races by stronger, particularly by our own.....

We are firmly resolved:
To live in the vision of a world-wide friendship, and to look upon our own nation as but one of a great family.....

We are firmly resolved:
To let no fear of friend or foe unnerve us, as we labor for Peace in the world.

(From "Songs of Worship"

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THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY IN RELATION TO WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

(Excerpts from a report of the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union, London, 1933)

Geographers take the world in their hands. The world is their unit of study. They are the natural internationalists: on the one side they teach the physical unity of the world and the interaction of all its natural forces, while on the other they teach the economic and cultural interdependence of its peoples.

It is they who, in teaching the influence of climate, popular custom and geographical position upon people's occupations, teach, too, the influence of other climates and other occupations thousands of miles away. They show the interdependence of the workers in a Malaya rubber plantation and those in a motor factory in Detroit.

Geography should be definitely regarded as the study of the Earth in relation to Man. There are several aspects of human geography, the subject-matter of which, appropriately selected, is well suited to the interests of the child and its educational needs. There is social geography, which studies the modes of living and the associated social organisations of communities in relation to their physical settings. Also these communities, in the form of states, have influences far beyond their own frontiers, and therefore political factors demand consideration, and in so far as the communities are composed of different peoples and races, racial geography calls for attention. Hence, in addition to the economic aspect of human geography that already has a prominent place in schools, it is suggested that the facts of social, racial and political geography are of great importance and should come within the scope of school geography.

World Geography commonly demands more attention than it receives, especially in the later steps of the teaching, when ideas given in connection with particular regions can be linked together and given added significance. In this part of the work, too, the facts of international interdependence may be most fully brought out. These facts can be shown to be based in part on the physical geography: broad differences of climate, relief and soil give differences in the productive capacities of regions, and the idea arises of itself that friendly and free intercourse and exchange of goods should be the human response to the natural conditions. Again, when regions are considered in connection with their neighbours, it appears that they are interdependent in their physical conditions; e.g., the rainfall of a mountainous area supplies the water which may be used in neighbouring lowlands having a dry climate, as is the case with Abyssinia, the Sudan and Egypt. Any modification of the flow of the Nile tributaries in Abyssinia must have its influence on the water supply of the Sudan, and any interference with the Nile itself in the Sudan affects the life of Egypt, consequently the construction of a storage lake in Abyssinia and the withdrawal of waters for irrigation in the Sudan are matters which must be settled by agreement between all three governments. Other great rivers have their own problems, and the internationalisation of the Rhine and the Danube can be shown to be based upon the need for communications to be uninterrupted either by natural or by political difficulties and barriers; here are clear examples of the connections between geographical facts on the one hand and political problems and their solutions on the other. The study of the physical side of geography is full of instances of the need for co-operation between peoples, both deal with difficulties and dangers (e.g., international observation and warnings against storms, concerted measures against locust and other pests, etc.) and to take advantage of natural potentialities (e.g., the water-power of the St. Lawrence where it is the boundary of the United States and Canada).

THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

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A Sermon preached at the
Riverside Church, New York, November 12, 1933.
by
Harry Emerson Fosdick

It was an inspired idea to deposit the body of an unrecognized soldier in the national memorial of the Great War; and yet, when one stops to think of it, how strange it is! Yesterday, in Rome, Paris, London, Washington, and how many capitals besides, the most stirring military pageantry, decked with flags and exultant with music, centered about the bodies of unknown soldiers. That is strange. So this is the outcome of western civilization, which for nearly 2,000 years has had Christ, and in which democracy and science have had their widest opportunity, that the whole Nation pauses, its acclamations rise, its colorful pagentry centers, its patriotic oratory flourishes around the unrecognizable body of a soldier blown to bits on the battlefield. That is strange.

It was the war lords themselves who picked him out as a symbol of war. So be it! As a symbol of war we accept him from their hands.

You may not say that I, being a Christian minister, did not know him. I knew him well. From the north of Scotland, where they planted the sea with mines, to the trenches of France I lived with him and his fellows---British, Australian, New Zealander, French, American. The places where he fought, from Ypres through the Somme battlefield to the southern trenches, I saw while he still was there. I lived with him in dug-outs, in the trenches, and on destroyers searching for submarines off the shores of France. Short of actual battle, from training camp to hospital, from the fleet to No-Man's Land, I, a Christian minister, saw the war. Moreover, I, a Christian minister, participated in it. I, too, was persuaded that it was a war to end war. I, too, was a gullible fool and thought that modern war could somehow make the world safe for democracy. They sent men like me to explain to the Army the high meanings of war and, by every argument we could command, to strengthen their morale. I wonder if I ever spoke to the Unknown Soldier.

One night, in a ruined barn behind the lines, I spoke at sunset to a company of hand-grenaders who were going out that night to raid the German trenches. They told me that on the average no more than half a company came back from such a raid, and I, a minister of Christ, tried to nerve them for their suicidal and murderous endeavor. I wonder if the Unknown Soldier was in that barn that night.

Once in a dug-out which in other days had been a French wine cellar I bade Godspeed at 2 in the morning to a detail of men going out on patrol in No-Man's Land. They were a fine company of American boys, fresh from home. I recall that, huddled in the dark, underground chamber, they sang:

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
  Lead thou me on.
The night is dark, and I am far from home --
  Lead thou me on.

Then, with my admonitions in their ears, they went down from the second- to the first-line trenches and so out to No-Man's Land. I wonder if the Unknown Soldier was in that dug-out.

You here this morning may listen to the rest of this sermon or not--as you please. It makes much less difference to me than usual what you do or think. I

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EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA

Evangelical Synod Bldg., 1720 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
(United with Reformed Church in the U.S. 6/26/34)

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Resolutions on war and military training adopted by the quadrennial General Conference of the Evangelical Synod of North America in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 3-10, 1933:

"Echoing the express wishes of a large number of district conferences as well as the formal pronouncements of various auxiliary organizations, the General Conference reaffirms its declaration on war as adopted by the General Conference of 1925:

"We declare our conviction that international warfare and the Gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess are incompatible. The methods used and the passions aroused by war both outrage Christ's conception of a Kingdom of God in which men should trust, love and forgive one another. We therefore pledge ourselves to support every movement which looks toward an organization of the nations for the elimination and outlawry of war; and to use every means to create the spirit of international goodwill among our people. We furthermore declare that we will not, as a Christian Church, ever bless or sanction war. We make this declaration of abstention as a Christian communion and do not intend it to bind individuals unless and until they accept it personally. We do mean to commit our Church to the fundamental proposition that to support war is to deny the Gospel we profess to believe.

FURTHER:

"We declare our definite and firm opposition to all forms of compulsory military training in high schools, colleges and universities, as well as to the Citizens' Military and Officers' Reserve Training Camps.

"The General Conference petitions the Government of the United States to grant to members of the Evangelical Synod of North America who may be conscientious objectors to war, the same exemption from military service as has long been granted to members of the Society of Friends and other similar religious organizations. Similarly, we petition all educational institutions which require military training to excuse from such training any student belonging to the Evangelical Synod of North America who has conscientious scruples against it...."

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FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
105 East 22nd Street
New York City

Among the resolutions passed by the Federal Council at its biennial meeting in Dayton, Ohio, December 4-6, was the following:

Military Training

"The United States Supreme Court has ruled that the action of the University of California and other land grant colleges in making military training compulsory is in accordance with the laws of the states in question. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America affirms its conviction that the laws upon which this decision is based should be modified so that undergraduates having conscientious objections to military training may be permitted to continue their studies.

"In taking this action we are of the opinion that the church and state, in their relations with each other, have certain functions and privileges which cannot properly be invaded by either. We are supported in this view by Chief Justice Hughes who, in his minority opinion on the Macintosh case, expressed the view that 'in the forum of conscience duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained.'

"We would point out to our constituent bodies that the Supreme Court has not ruled that military training in civil institutions must be compulsory. We note that the Court in its ruling on this question specifically stated that 'the privilege of the native-born conscientious objector to avoid bearing arms comes not from the Constitution but from the Acts of Congress.' In the light of the Court's ruling it is clear that the American people, in part through the action of the proper legislative bodies and in part through the action of the governing bodies of the educational institutions in question, may provide that military training be placed upon a voluntary basis.

"As concrete measures designed to secure relief for students who are suspended or expelled from their respective institutions of learning because of their refusal on grounds of conscience to take military training, we recommend:

"That Congress adopt legislation extending to native-born conscientious objectors exemption from military training in civil educational institutions;

"That, pending such action by Congress, the governing bodies of the institutions in question, wherever such action is in accordance with the state statutes, take the initiative in placing military training on a voluntary basis; and

"That state legislatures adopt measures providing that all land grant colleges place military training on a voluntary basis.

"Such action, according to a recent ruling by the United States Attorney General, would be wholly consonant with the federal legislation under the terms of which land grant colleges were originally instituted."

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METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH
810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee

Resolutions on war, adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its quadrennial session, April 26-May 8, 1934:

Resolution Adopted May 2, 1934.

"The General Conference of 1926 said through its Committee on Temperance and Social Service: 'The United States is under obligation to the extent of her power to see to it that another war shall not happen.' The General Conference of 1930 expressed the same principle in defining the duties of a Christian in the following language: " . . . . to oppose by all proper and legal methods the resort to force for the alleged settlement of international controversies, except only in the defense of those national ideals for the preservation of which the Republic was organized.' We reaffirm our unalterable and unequivocal opposition to war for any purpose except in the defense of the lives and liberties of our citizens.

"We pledge our support to every honorable method of legitimate means to promote peace among all nations, and we hereby appeal to those who are in authority in government to settle the differences which may arise between nations by statesmanship and diplomacy instead of the pagan and barbarian wholesale slaughter. The Golden Rule should apply to nations as well as individuals.

"We express our condemnation of those selfish business interests and corporations which endeavor to stir up strife among races and hatred among nations that they may profit by the sale of arms and munitions and other instruments of war; and exploit the common people by doubling, and in many instances quadrupling, the price of the actual necessities of life in the form of food and clothing.

"We condemn all practices and customs that develop the spirit of war by making our young people think in terms of war. For this reason, we condemn military training in our State colleges, and especially in our Church institutions. The evils of directing the thoughts of the young people through war channels much more than offset any supposed cultural development which is claimed by the proponents of military training.

"We vigorously protest against any distinction or discrimination in dealing with conscientious objectors to war. We earnestly contend that all who conscientiously object to military training and service should receive like treatment by the government regardless of what name they bear or to what organization they belong. It is not only inconsistent but is a gross injustice for one class to be relieved from military service because of their conscientious objection, while another class, equally conscientious, are compelled to bear arms."

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
281 Fourth Avenue
New York City

At the triennial meeting of the General Convention in 1934, the following resolutions were adopted:

On War and Peace

RESOLVED: That the General Convention affirms that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and

That when nations have solemnly bound themselves by Treaty, Covenant or Pact for the pacific settlement of international disputes, the Convention holds that the Christian Church in every nation should refuse to countenance any war in regard to which the government of its own country has not declared its willingness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation, and that, in the language of the Bishops' Pastoral of 1933 the Church must wage unremitting war against war.

On Co-operation Toward Peace

RESOLVED: That a Commission of four Bishops, four Presbyters and four laymen be appointed to explore the field of interchurch co-operation in the cause of peace, with power to enter into co-operative relations with other great Christian Communions and responsible peace organizations in pursuit of this objective and with them to promote, at the discretion of the Commission, a World Conference of Churches on War and Peace; and in particular, with power at their discretion, to take part in the National Conference on the Churches and World Peace, to be held at Dayton, Ohio, in December, 1934, and in the conference of the Universal Christian Council to be held in 1937.

On Conscientious Objectors

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops in its Pastoral Letter issued from Davenport stated that it is the duty of Christians to put the Cross above the flag, and in any conflict of loyalties unhesitatingly to follow the Christ, and

WHEREAS, we desire that all Christian people who, though willing to risk their lives in non-combatant service, are unwilling for conscience' sake to take human life in war, and shall have signified their intention by placing themselves on record at the national headquarters of their respective Churches, be accorded by the United States Government the status in fact accorded members of the Society of Friends as respects military service; be it

RESOLVED: That a commission of six Bishops, six Presbytors and six laymen be appointed by the Presiding Bishop and the President of the House of Deputies to perform the following duties:

1. To petition the Congress of the United States for such legislation as may be necessary to secure the status in fact accorded members of the Society of Friends for all Christian men who, though prepared to risk their lives in non-combatant service, are prevented by their consciences from serving in the combatant forces of the United States;

2. In the event of such legislation, to make provision for an accurate register to be kept at the offices of the National Council, of such members of the Protestant Episcopal Church as are conscientiously unable to serve in the combatant forces of the United States.

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From The World Tomorrow
April 26, 1934.

"MY COUNTRY"

("I don't like war but I want to protect my country."-
U. S. Army General, advocating military preparedness.)

Protect "my country"! But where is "my country"? Who has decreed that "my country" shall include only the geographical area bounded by the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, Canada and Mexico? Who has decreed that "my country" shall embrace only those men, institutions, and events which lie between the year 1492 and the present? Who may thus limit and define "my country"?

Where Isaiah lifted up his voice for human justice, there is my country. Where Plato announced the reality of the spiritual, there is my country. Where Jesus offered His life for men, there is my country. Where St. Francis lived the compassionate life, there is my country. Where Shakespeare swept the human scene into his dramas, there is my country. Where Luther struck for the liberty of the soul, there is my country. Where Darwin discovered the method of the Creator, there is my country. Where Magna Charta was signed, there is my country. Where Milton sang, where Rembrandt painted, where Goethe wrote - there is my country.

Who draws these little lines, limiting my allegiance by accidents of time and space? .....

I would protect my country. For my country I would fight against all enemies. Where is my country and who are its enemies?

Wherever men and women lift the flag of justice, or of beauty, or of freedom, or of truth, or of peace, or of fellowship, there is my country. Who enslaves men in body for the sake of gain, or in mind for the sake of power, who tramples on others' rights, who closes the doors of opportunity, who serves the dark gods of superstition and prejudice, who turns his eyes toward the past, who denies to others the privileges he desires for himself - he is an enemy. God help me to protect my country against all enemies!

--Herman F. Reissig.

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

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WHOLE WORLD NEXT DOOR

By Chester H. Rowell
(San Francisco Chronicle, October 24, 1934)

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Less than three days from London to Melbourne shrinks the world even smaller. Now there is nothing left but to clip hours and minutes off that record, as sprinters vie to clip fractions of a second from the hundred yards record. But, except for sport, the limit of speed has been reached. If one can go from England to Australia in three days, it is of small practical importance if later it can be done in two days. Either is so short as to be negligible. The improvement, from now on, will be in service, safety and comfort.

As a sport we can understand it. The chief instinct of man, from time immemorial, has been to get from wherever he was to somewhere else as swiftly as possible. Contests of speed have always been more interesting than contests of strength or skill, and incomparably more so than contests of wits. A million people are interested in a horse race to one who cares who wins a chess game. So now that our speed has become so great that the circuit of the earth is the only adequate race course, we shall continue to spend money and risk lives in the competition to get back as quickly as possible to exactly where we started from. Arriving nowhere will be the supreme goal of the wanderlust of man.

Some day, perhaps, we shall consider the diffusion of ideas as more interesting than the rotation of wheels or propellers. He who can spread a new thought through the world in a year will have done more than he who hurls his body around it in a day, attached to a rocket. The astronomer who solves the mystery of the island universes will earn more distinction than the flyer who first makes the journey to the moon, where he will learn nothing except what we already know by telescope. But not yet!

Meantime we all congratulate the intrepid flyers, who have conquered space and distance. How many realize the significance also of the fact that nearly all the way their stopping places were under British rule and the rest were in places where English is understood? The encirclement of the globe by the English language and British institutions took more centuries than this flight did days, but it was a greater and more significant achievement. It means the permanent insemination of the concept of liberty, in a girdle around the earth.

Unfortunately we are also reminded that the world is still mentally as large as it has become physically small. Ambassador Matsudaira reveals that, at the opening of the naval conversations between Japan and Britain, Japan announced its intention to denounce the Washington treaty, with its 5-5-3 ratio of naval power. In other words, whether armaments are increased or decreased, or remain stationary, Japan's first demand is an arithmetical equality, which would constitute strategic superiority, in the means of destruction.

This is, literally, the question which all the nations in the world regard as more important than all others. Having signed a solemn agreement not to make war on each other, each of them is afraid that the others will break their word. Each is depriving its own people of food, clothing, shelter, education and liberty, in order to pile up implements with which to destroy the people of other nations. No one of them believes that a war which they all confess would be the sucide of civilization can be prevented or long deferred. The best hope of each of them is

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MEMORANDUM ON THE POSSIBILITIES OF REVISION OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. Historical Background

Contrary to widely spread opinion here, from the earliest days of the League of Nations proposals to revise and amend the Covenant have been the subject of League debate and of government and unofficial discussion outside. Some fifty measures of this kind can be cited, as the accompanying table will show.

Of these proposals, some have been revolutionary in character, such as the Protocol of Geneva of 1924, which was accepted by practically all the governments of Europe except Great Britain. The proposal of Canada to interpret the Covenant so as to practically eliminate Article X was accepted by all the League with the exception of Persia. The most important of these proposals was the harmonization of the Covenant with the Kellogg Pact, for which an important committee was appointed, consisting of leading statesmen of Europe. This committee is still in existence.

2. The Present Situation

Ever since the Japanese Manchurian episode, and especially since the failure of the Disarmament Conference so far to achieve results, the proposals for the revision of the Covenant have taken a more serious form.

At the Disarmament Conference itself, M. Paul Boncour proposed a gradation of responsibilities for the enforcement of peace which would leave outlying nations free from any obligation to enforce peace by co-operation in support of the victim. This obligation of Article XVI of the Covenant

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THE MOTHERS OF MEN

(Editorial in the Oregon Journal, May 16, 1934.)

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When a hawk sails over a chicken yard every mother of a little chicken cries out at the top of her voice to warn her young of the danger and to frighten the intruder away.

When war threatens to destroy the youth of the world, as it does today, some mothers of men will fight the danger, but others look idly on and piously hope there will be no war.

No mother of little chickens would ever be so criminally negligent of the safety of her young in a time of danger. With voice, beak and feet, all foolishly inefficient weapons, she fights, but because her clamor enlists other mothers, together they drive off the hawk and save the young.

She is never too busy, as often are the mothers of men. She never pleads ignorance of what to do; she knows what to do, and the mothers of men can find out what to do. She is never silent in the presence of danger because she is too timid to lift her voice; never silent for fear heaven wants the hawk to have her little chickens; never does she modestly retire behind the excuse that she does not wish to be conspicuous. She wants to be conspicuous, so she may save her young from death.

A group of mothers and potential mothers in Portland are attempting to enlist 1000 others in a definite program of war prevention. They are inspired by the grave danger of war and by the possibility of preventing it by intelligent action. Busy as are these women about the ordinary affairs of life, they prefer to add to their duties now, lest the feverish activity of war consume them, later.

"We may not be able to prevent war, but if war comes in spite of our efforts we want to be able to say to our sons and other mothers' sons that we gave to our limit in time, money and influence to prevent it."

But if the mothers of the world will fight for their young intelligently and fearlessly, and fight now, when there is still time to prevent war, they will do much to prevent it. The heroes of another day were those who died in battle; the heroes of today are those who would protect civilization from the insanity of war.

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PEACE ON EARTH

An Editorial by

BRUCE CATTON

(San Francisco Chronicle. Dec. 25, 1934.)

Three wise men from the Orient plodded across a plain with their eyes on a blazing star. The dark veil of a Syrian night was rent apart so that wide-eyed shepherds in a quiet sheepfold might have a vision of unearthly glory. A child was born in the stable of an inn, in an out-of-the-way province of the Roman empire . . . and into a world that lived by the sword came the promise that men some day would learn to live in peace.

That miraculous Christmas Eve in Bethlehem was not only the announcement of man's eternal kinship with something deathless, something greater and nobler and finer than he had dared dream himself to be.

It was also a promise that since man is made in the image of God, this old earth can be remade in the image of God's city. It revealed to men the simple fact that war, with all that it connotes --- might's trimph over wrong, the enthronement of brute strength, reason surrendering to the law of the jungle --- is no more a part of the natural order of things than poverty, greed or oppression, and can be abolished when men wish.

That was an unbelievable promise, in those days, just as it seems to be now. On the one hand were a child in a stable, and a few aging philosophers and unlettered shepherds; on the other, all the glitter and pomp and hard-fisted might of the Roman empire. The tramp of the Legions raised the dust on roads all across the known world. The triremes of Rome's fleet ruled every known sea. Beat those swords into plowshares? Great Caesar, if he had heard about it, would have laughed.

Nor does the outlook seem any brighter today. Peace? The dreadnaughts and the tanks make a mockery of the idea, just as Caesar's legions did.

But there is a power in the world that cannot be measured in terms of army divisions or naval squadrons. You cannot weigh it or analyze it in a labratory, but in the long run it is only real power. It is that strange and unfathomable force in the human soul which keeps weary and discouraged men plodding along on the road to the stars.

Now the world has lasted a long time, and its history is one long record of blood and suffering, of inhumanity and injustice, of wrong triumphant and of right in the condemned cell; and most of the time we forget about this incalculable spiritual power.

But at Christmas, each year, we rediscover it. We remember where it comes from; we see it symbolized in those little Christmas customs that we all observe; and in the magnificent cadences of that deathless story from Bethlehem we realize its eternal truth.

Facing this, we then discover something else; that the great battles, the battles which decide the world's destiny, are fought out in men's hearts and minds. It is there that the great decisions are made; everything that happens afterward simply ratifies them.

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THE MESSAGE OF THE SHEPHERDS

(From the Pilgrim Elementary
Teacher, December, 1934.)

Adown the silent night
  The glittering starlight falls—
Come shepherds in their fright,
  To the crude oxen stalls.
See Mary, and her Babe
  In the cold manger laid.
Hear the great chorus thrill:
  "Peace and Good will—Good will."
Lord, let it never be still,
  "Peace and Good will—Good will."

—Adelma Carver Anderson.

Additional copies may be secured from
National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

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THE CHILD IN THE KINGDOM

Sunday School Service of Worship

(Printed in the Pilgrim Elementary Teacher, December, 1934.)

Instrumental Prelude:

Call to Worship: Isaiah 40:9, 10; Luke 3: 3b-6; John 14: 9-15; Psalm 24: 1; Psalm 96: 11-13.

Hymn: "All the Happy Children" (Processional), Dillingham; "There's a Song in the Air," Holland; "The Sunday Bells Are Calling" (Jesu Dilectissime); "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing" (Mendelssohn), Wesley.

Responsive Reading: (for December as printed in the pupils' periodicals - International Uniform Lessons.)

Prayer: O God, our Father, we thank thee for the joy which came into the world when Jesus was born in Bethlehem. We thank thee for the light that sprang up for those that sit in darkness, and we rejoice that this light and this joy are with us today. Let the Spirit that came into the world through Jesus enter into our life and bless it, that duty may be touched with delight, and justice be tempered with mercy, and obligation transformed into opportunity. May peace and good will reign in our hearts, and may thy kingdom come and thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven. Amen.

Readings:

A Social Hymn for Children.

We thank thee, God, for eyes to see
  The beauty of the earth;
For ears to hear warm words of love
  Or happy sounds of mirth;
For minds that find new thoughts to think,
  New wonders to explore,
For health and freedom to enjoy
  The good thou hast in store.

Help us remember that to some
  The eye and ear and mind
Bring sights and sounds of ugliness,
  And only sadness find;
Help us remember that to them
  The world has seemed unfair;
That through no effort of our own
  Have we the larger share.

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PEACE ON EARTH

An Editorial by

BRUCE CATTON

(San Francisco Chronicle. Dec. 25, 1934.)

Three wise men from the Orient plodded across a plain with their eyes on a blazing star. The dark veil of a Syrian night was rent apart so that wide-eyed shepherds in a quiet sheepfold might have a vision of unearthly glory. A child was born in the stable of an inn, in an out-of-the-way province of the Roman empire . . . and into a world that lived by the sword came the promise that men some day would learn to live in peace.

That miraculous Christmas Eve in Bethlehem was not only the announcement of man's eternal kinship with something deathless, something greater and nobler and finer than he had dared dream himself to be.

It was also a promise that since man is made in the image of God, this old earth can be remade in the image of God's city. It revealed to men the simple fact that war, with all that it connotes --- might's trimph over wrong, the enthronement of brute strength, reason surrendering to the law of the jungle --- is no more a part of the natural order of things than poverty, greed or oppression, and can be abolished when men wish.

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On the one hand were a child in a stable, and a few aging philosophers and unlettered shepherds; on the other, all the glitter and pomp and hard-fisted might of the Roman empire. The tramp of the Legions raised the dust on roads all across the known world. The triremes of Rome's fleet ruled every known sea. Beat those swords into plowshares? Great Caesar, if he had heard about it, would have laughed.

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TIDE AND TIDE

WHAT'S FOR CHRISTMAS?

By Charlotte C. Jones
(The Pilgrim Elementary Teacher, Dec. 1934)

Do you sometimes wonder what other churches are doing at Christmas time? Last year our group had an original program arranged by the organist. It consisted of Madonnas, and their real babies, dressed in the costumes of different countries. Carols were sung from the lands represented, and something was told of their customs. Starting with the manger scene, the sequence went on to other countries, and ended with a glimpse into an American home on Christmas Eve. This gave us an idea for doing something as interesting for this year, making use of different customs and carols around the world. And what a wealth of material was found along this line! Let us take a peep into just one of the books.

It is called "Christmas Everywhere" and was written and compiled by Elizabeth H. Sechrist, illustrated with charming colored plates by Guy Fry. It seems that a group of boys and girls waiting for their story hour at a public library got into a discussion, as boys and girls sometimes do, about the reality of Santa Claus. This led to a search into the beliefs and customs of different lands, and such a wealth of material was found about Santa, Pelznickel, Tomten, St. Nicholas, or the Christ-Child, that it was decided to make a book out of it for other boys and girls; for it was discovered that wherever children had the belief and spirit of Santa in their hearts, there he was found.

The first chapter starts in Bethlehem and tells us something of Christmas there with its religious ceremonies. Then we are whisked over to Italy to visit a family gathered about the Presepio or manger with its carved wooden figures of Mary, Joseph, the Christ-Child, and all the other little figures you have in your crèche at home. Flowers take the place of evergreen decorations, bagpipes are played by shepherds, and the Urn of Fate is brought in from which presents are drawn. At ten o'clock in the evening come the Christmas Eve services in the churches, with music, flowers, and the Grand Procession of officials in their colorful vestments. They carry the Bambino or Christ-Child about for all to see and touch: then, as the bells toll midnight, they place the figure in the manger at the altar. There is no Santa Claus in Italy just like ours, but there is La Befana, a stern old woman who enters each home on Twelfth Night, the Eve of Epiphany when the Wise-men brought gifts to the Babe. She slips down the chimney and into the room where the stockings are hung, carrying a cane in one hand and a bell in the other, for which the children eagerly listen as a warning to be off to bed. For the good there are gifts; but for the bad boys and girls, only bags of ashes are left!

Next we visit Serbia, to see how Christmas is celebrated on the banks of the Blue Danube. Here the customs are very different from any you have ever heard of before, with the pig roasted out in the courtyard and supper eaten on the floor instead of at the table as usual. The Badnyak, or Yule log, is kept blazing all night long, on Christmas Eve, for it is very bad luck to let it go out!

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Speech by Stephen Roushenbush

before

Pittsburgh Foreign Policy Association

November 27, 1935

"AMERICAN POLICY ON LEAGUE SANCTIONS"

The national foreign policy is now before the country for debate. Before March, 1936, Congress will enact legislation which will either open the road toward war or close it a little.

It is interesting to note that there are as yet no villains in this piece. The two attitudes which were expressed in the course of the enactment of the neutrality legislation of 1935 both see peace as the fundamental objective. These two attitudes, as represented by the President and the Department of State on one hand, and by great groups of able men in the House and Senate on the other hand, are both sincere efforts to obtain peace.

Let us get the alternatives clearly before us. One group, with the highest motives, says that "there is already a mechanism for peace in the world and that we should use it, the League of Nations. It is the guarantor of world order. There is no other guarantor. It keeps order by invoking sanctions, economic penalties and possibly military penalties against nations such as Italy which break the peace. It holds the conscience of the world in its keeping. Those nations which do not join with it in its various crusades to maintain world peace are either lacking in a sense of justice and righteousness or are cowardly in failing to enforce their moral sense at the expense of their property and blood. By failing to join the League in its sanctions, the United States even becomes responsible for any possible failure on the part of the League in maintaining peace, and stands, in a way, as the Judas of all creation. The advocates of our joining in sanctions make one further statement of major importance, that the world is so interconnected today that this country will be forced into a war that starts anywhere in the world, that being so, we had best use our powers---economic and military---to prevent a war than to come in later, after it is ravaging the world. Our neutrality policy should, therefore, provide that we join the League in its actions and ship materials of war, and general cargo to one side but not to the other." This is, I believe, a fair statement of this attitude as it is expressed throughout the country at present. There are certain corollary propositions of theirs which I will come to later.

The other group says that "in the last war our peace or neutrality policy 'neither kept us neutral nor out of war'. That the old rules were bad and 'when analyzed with the candor which we owe the nation in respect to a problem involving its blood, we cannot escape the reluctant conclusion that they were much less concerned with the maintenance of neutrality than with the maintenance of profitable traffic with belligerents'. (Senator Vandenberg). It is possible, this group says, to keep this nation out of war if the rules of neutrality are changed in certain ways. Then they propose the ways, expressed in S. J. 99, 100, and 120. (1) They quarantine not only munitions but war materials against all belligerents. (2) They forbid globe trotters

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AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
25 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

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The American Unitarian Association, at its biennial conference in October, 1935, adopted, among others, the following resolutions:

American Responsibility in the Italo-Ethiopian Situation

"WHEREAS: The attitude taken by the United States in the present critical world situation may be of the utmost importance to the cause of a permanent and lasting peace, and

"WHEREAS: The Congress of the United States will be called on to express that attitude in suitable legislation at an early date.

"BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Unitarian Association in Biennial Conference assembled does hereby place on record its hope that such legislation shall be so framed that it shall give our government the power to cooperate effectively with the League of Nations in such non-military and non-naval restraints as may seem desirable against a nation which has violated its solemn agreement not to 'use force as an instrument of national policy.'

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the members of this conference feel that embargoes to belligerents should not only include arms and munitions of war, but also loans and credits and such secondary munitions as minerals, oils and cotton; also, that a provision for embargo on imports from belligerents would strengthen the situation.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we approve the suggestion of Britain's representative at the League of Nations Assembly that the nations of the world should assume a responsibility to change by peaceful means the basic economic situations which have heretofore created conditions which encouraged war, and we urge on our Government its responsibility to cooperate to the utmost in such endeavors.

"AND FURTHER: We commend the President and the State Department for the prompt and effective way in which they have declared our neutrality, and otherwise dealt with the present situation.

"FINALLY: That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President and the Secretary of State."

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR
Mount Vernon and Joy Streets
Boston, Massachusetts

The following resolutions were passed at the biennial international Christian Endeavor Convention, July, 1935:

The Convention's Peace Action

"We choose Christ and His way of life not only for personal but for international relationships. His way is surely the way of friendship and not the way of strife. We therefore resolve that, as Christian Endeavorers dedicating our lives and efforts to the principles of the Prince of Peace, we will support all constructive measures looking toward the establishment of peace and the final abolition of war.

"To this end:

"First: We send greetings to fellow Christian Endeavorers in all other countries in the world, commending them for their efforts in behalf of world peace in their several countries, and pledge then our efforts in the support of peace activities in our own country. Endeavorers believe that Christians have a special obligation and imperative in the work for peace. Our reason is not economic nor commercial; we believe that this is the will of God.

"Second: We endorse efforts now being made toward progressive disarmament in all the nations, on the basis of proposals made by the American delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

"Third: We renew our support of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact (The Peace Pact of Paris), by which practically every nation has repudiated war 'as an instrument of national policy' and has agreed to seek a solution to its international disputes only by pacific means.

"Fourth: We commend the creation of a World Peace Fellowship as a department of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, through which Christian Endeavor members and other sincere believers in the cause of peace may unite their efforts for this cause.

"Fifth: We recommend that careful study should be given to the work of such agencies for world peace as the World Court, the League of Nations, and the International Labor Office, and that the manufacture of war munitions be studied. We recommend that consideration be given by societies and unions to the Senate Resolution which provides for United States membership in the League of Nations, subject to certain reservations.

"Sixth: We commend all sincere efforts to bring about unity among those organizations and forces designed to further the cause of world peace, and pledge our support in the furtherance of real unity rather than attempted uniformity in peace programs.

"Seventh: We resolve to go forth from this great gathering of Christian youth, united in the common purpose of building a world based upon Christ's principles of justice, understanding, tolerance, and brotherhood among men and among nations. In such a world, war belongs only to history!"

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COMMUNITY SERVICE

Sponsored by Peace Committee of Plymouth Congregational Church, Syracuse, New York, May 2, 1935.

A SERVICE OF SUPPLICATION AND PRAYER

I. PROCESSIONAL

II. Hymn 462 "God of our fathers, Whose almighty hand"
(The congregation standing)

III. A Statement of our Unity and Purpose. (The congregation seated.)

LEADER - As devoted citizens of America we pledge allegiance to the treaty which our country has entered into with other countries in which war is renounced as a national policy. Namely, "The high contracting parties solemnly declare, in the name of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in relations with one another. The high contracting parties agree that the settlement of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

LEADER - We will break the spell of the enchantments that make the nations drunk with the lust of battle, and then draws them on us as willing tools of death.

CONGREGATION - We desire a quiet and steadfast mind when our own nation clamors for vengeance and aggression. We would strengthen our sense of justice and our regard for the equal worth of other peoples and races.

LEADER - May our young men still rejoice to die for their country with the valor of their fathers, but may we teach our age nobler methods of matching its strength, and more effective ways of living its life for our flag.

CONGREGATION - We would make it our life-work to be healers rather than hurters, to knit the hearts of men in brotherhood, rather than sever them in fear and envy.

LEADER - We would rent in twain the veil of falsehood which is spread over the faces of the peoples, that the entire body politic may be seized with a divine urge to organize truth and justice to the uttermost limits of human society. Our souls faint with desire; our very hearts are sick with the deferred hope that Governments, Senates, and Parliaments would abate the passions which storm with ruination across the continents and seas, and would address themselves to the mutual task of outlawing war, and causing the tides of misery to recede in all the lands.

CONGREGATION - We would labor that the like-minded recognize each other thru the mists of national enmities and the vapours of patriotic passions, that unity of spirit may issue in united effort for the common good.

LEADER - For the sake of our after-comers, we renounce international lawlessness, cultivating the laws of justice and mercy to prevail over strife, bringing politics and social ethics into harmony with the Eternal Good will.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MESSAGE AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES

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NOVEMBER, 1935

The troubles and dangers in the world today are of grave concern to the church and religious-minded people, both because they are bound in love to humanity and because the very fundamental principles of all religions and morals are at stake. A secular and pagan spirit openly proclaims the egoism of the state dominated by national, party and class interests as the highest standard determining what is right and just. Nationalistic states proclaim might as the final arbiter of right. With amazing unanimity the nations subscribed to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, yet with a cynical disregard of their pledged words the whole civilized world is preparing for war. The Italian-Ethiopian dispute is merely an incident in a movement that threatens the most serious consequences, and forces upon humanity the gravest crisis since the beginning of the World War.

The world is one, despite its geographical boundaries. International cooperation is more feasible and more necessary than ever before. A common life can be sustained only upon a basis of international justice, goodwill and mutual trust. The task of promoting international friendship is essentially a religious task. With penitence we confess our many faults and failures in the past, and our lukewarmness and lack of faith today. We pray God for faith and courage in the future to put loyalty to Him and His will above every other loyalty.

The United States is a member of the family of nations and must contribute its part to the common life. We have accepted many obligations of pact and treaty but we must go still further. To a spirit of neighborliness we must add a closer, more cordial and effective cooperation with all the agencies of friendship between nations if we are to fulfill our destiny as a free people and a citizen nation of the world. To that end we make the following recommendations:

I. Neutrality

We commend the President of the United States for his prompt action in announcing our position in regard to the Italian-Ethiopian conflict. The President and Secretary Hull have given voice to what we believe is the common feeling of all our people. This is reflected in the neutrality law passed by the last Congress. We are determined as a nation to keep free from all war. We, therefore, urge Congress when it next meets to extend the scope of the neutrality legislation to cover all potential war materials. This marks a new departure in American foreign policy. For the first time the nations, through their leaders, seeking to adjust a dispute between two members of the League of Nations, know what to expect of the United States.

II. The Cost of Neutrality

We need constantly to emphasize the fact that if we are to evade war it will be necessary for us to pay the price. Business interests must be willing to forego the high profits offered by war. American travelers must forego journeying within the threatened areas or on ships of the warring nations. To remain neutral will demand self-denying efforts on the part of all of our people. Unless we are prepared to engage in war we will have to depend only upon moral and peaceful methods for maintaining the most cherished principles of our foreign policy, including the freedom of the seas, the Monroe Doctrine, and the maintenance of the open door in China. Neutrality will restrict us to the exercise of peaceful, and only peaceful, means in dealing with all international affairs.

III. Disarmament

If our nation is sincere in its desire to keep out of foreign wars, why build up "a navy second to

TRADE ESSENTIAL IF U.S. IS TO RESCUE

ITS ECONOMIC STATUS

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by
Francis B. Sayre
Assistant Secretary of State

(Statement to Associated Press, May 5, 1935)

We cannot set ourself up as a hermit nation.

If the American standard of living is to be maintained, we must trade.

How long would the people of the United States be willing to go without coffee? Last year we imported $133,154,000 worth of coffee. How long would we be willing to go without rubber? We imported last year $101,132,000 worth of rubber.

Are we ready to forego the use of tin, or to give up using silk, or tea, or bananas, or chocolates? Is it going to profit us and add to our material welfare to cease importing the vast quantities which we now are using and which we need of nickel, manganese and tungsten ore, or newsprint and paper of innumerable raw materials?

Is it going to raise the American standard of living to shut these necessary materials out of the country?

We must trade.

Cites Exports

Elimination of foreign markets would have detrimental effects on industry and agriculture. Even in 1933, when our foreign sales had sadly shrunken, we exported abroad 66 per cent of our cotton, 39 per cent of our leaf tobacco, 25 per cent of our lard, 25 per cent of our prepared milk, 22 per cent of our canned fruits, 46 per cent of our dried fruits, 58 per cent of our turpentine, 34 per cent of our lubricating oil, 37 per cent of our aircraft engines and parts, 16 per cent of all classes of industrial machinery, 41 per cent of our refined cotton and 71 per cent of our resin.

Do you see what that means translated into terms of human labor? Our national economy has been geared to support millions of workers in occupations which have come to be vitally dependent on foreign markets.

Huge Land Area Involved.

If we should eliminate our foreign markets we should have to retire about 8,500,000 acres of wheat land, about 22,800,000 acres of cotton land, about 665,000 acres of tobacco land, about 9,150,000 acres of corn land needed for raising hogs and over 7,000,000 acres of land needed for horses to work these lands.

In other words, we would have to retire over 40,000,000 acres of average farm land and let it go back to weed and forests. This land today supports a farm population of some 3,200,000 people.

In the industrial field an even larger problem presents itself. Estimates indicate the industrial population directly dependent upon export sales is more than twice as large as that engaged in agriculture. Conservative estimates place it at about 7,500,000 -- making in all a population of over 10,000,000 people [illegible] subsistence upon foreign exports.

WHERE OUR FOOD PLANTS COME FROM

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by

Elmer D. Merrill
Director, New York Botanical Garden

(Taken From THE GIRL SCOUT LEADER, January, 1935)

It is an obvious fact that all cultivated plants and all domesticated animals were derived from wild ancestors. The average individual, however, scarcely realizes that agriculture is a very ancient art, and that every basic plant now cultivated for food was already in cultivation, somewhere in the world, at the dawn of recorded history. The same statement applies equally well to our domesticated animals which are likewise very ancient in domestication. It was not until after the discovery of America in 1492 and the voyage of Magellan around the world in 1520 that the interchange of economic plants and animals between the eastern and western hemispheres commenced. Although primitive man reached practically all parts of the world where conditions were favorable to his continued existence, he did not, as he advanced in culture, transmit his cultivated plants and domesticated animals beyond the limits of his own hemisphere except in a very few cases. In other words, the Pacific and Atlantic formed barriers to transoceanic communications between America and Eurasia until the close of the fifteenth century.

The cultivated food plants and domesticated animals form the basis of agriculture, and agriculture is basic to civilization. While modern man has greatly improved his cultivated plants, increased their yields, and extended their ranges, he has not added a single important one to the long list of species selected and domesticated by our remote ancestors.

We seldom give a thought to the sources of our basis food plants; when, where, and by whom they were first cultivated; and how, when and by whom they were disseminated. If we think of corn, we are likely to think of Iowa, or some other producing region; if wheat, Dakota or Minnesota. We are influenced by our current knowledge of the chief producing areas as far as our own markets are concerned. But where did these plants originate?

If we examine the origins of cultivated plants we soon learn that the great majority of the several hundred cultivated species came originally from certain very restricted parts of the world. Much of Europe, a large part of Asia, most of Africa, all of North America north of Mexico, and all of Australia contributed little or nothing of importance, although all of these regions support a varied native vegetation. Most of the cultivated species are natives of definitely limited areas, some in America, some in the Old World, and the most important food plants originally occurred as native species in or near those regions that developed the earlier civilizations. As outstanding centers of both the origins of cultivated plants, of domesticated animals, and of early high civilizations, we may mention the high lands of Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru in America, certain parts of the Mediterranean basin in Europe, Asia Minor, central Asia, and certain parts of India and China in Asia. It is from these restricted areas that most of our important food plants and domesticated animals came, and it is these same relatively limited regions that produced the several ancient civilizations. In Mexico the basic foods were maize or Indian corn, the sweet potato, beans, squashes, pumpkins, tomato, pepper; in Bolivia and Peru, the potato, lima bean, some forms of common beans. In the various centers of Eurasia the most important primitive foods were the true cereals, such as wheat, barley, rye, sorghum, oats, millet, rice, buckwheat, and most of our temperate zone vegetables and fruits.

U.S. Dis. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 19

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A NEUTRAL POLICY FOR AMERICA

By PHILLIPS BRADLEY
Associate Professor of Political Science in Amherst College

(From Springfield Daily Republican, Springfield, Mass.: Friday, May 10, 1935)

Can the United States stay out of another war? That question, frankly stated, will be answered in the last analysis by the will of the American people. But that will can be made effective only if it is implemented in terms of law and policy during peace. And it will be implemented only if there is widespread understanding of the issues now confronting this country in a world rapidly preparing for armed conflict as the one way of dissipating the present economic and emotional tensions. Such an understanding can be based only upon the most complete and candid discussion of the issues and a frank recognition of their bearing upon the conduct of foreign policy.

Anyone who has read Walter Millis's recent book, "Road to War," will recognize at once how a policy of drift inevitably ends. If such a policy of drift is to be avoided in the future, an analysis of possible alternatives needs to be made before it is too late to apply reason to foreign policy.

The following discussion will be based on three propositions:--

(1) The United States can remain out of the next war if it wants to.
(2) A new policy of neutrality is essential to insure its non-participation.
(3) Such a policy needs to be written into law in peace time to facilitate the effective application of this policy in a period of crisis.

POLICY OF COMPLETE ISOLATION POSSIBLE

The United States can stay out of another war in Europe or Asia because of its geographical position. With 3000 miles or more of water between it and any potential enemy, its physical impregnability is admitted by even the hopeful of naval or military scaremongers. This position is, of course, vitally different from that of the nations closely jostled together in Europe or Asia, and perhaps places on the United States some responsibility not only for the maintenance of its own security but for cooperation in general security. (This question will be discussed below.)

It is, of course, not impossible that in the future sporadic attacks might be launched against coastal cities in the United States by a foreign enemy. But such attacks could not be concerted or prolonged and should, if a reasonably efficient defense force is maintained, be easily repelled. The United States can, therefore, if it chooses, base its foreign policy on a program of complete isolation from a future war.

Such a policy, however, requires implementation in a set of specific rules which will become operative in time of war. What do our present neutrality laws require and what changes are necessary to make the effective instruments of this new policy?

Briefly stated, the principal obligation upon neutral governments is to act with complete impartiality toward the belligerents. This requires, for instance, the prevention of the fitting out of armed vessels in neutral harbors (the Alabama claims award was based on a failure of Great Britain to follow this rule), to prevent enlistments within its territory, and to

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What is the NATIONAL COUNCIL for PREVENTION OF WAR?

Washington D. C.

Platform

Progressive World Organization
World-Wide Reduction of Armaments
by International Agreement
World-Wide Education for Peace

OFFICES

532 Seventeenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

68 Post St.
San Francisco, Calif.

612 Stock Exch. Bldg.
Portland, Ore.

134 Chestnut St.
Springfield, Mass.

411 Kraft Bldg.
Des Moines, Ia.

G.P.I.: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1943

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THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH
16 Beacon Street
Boston, Mass.

The General Convention, held biennially, of the Universalist Church, in October, 1935, passed the following recommendations and resolutions regarding peace and international relations:

Recommendations

XII. COMMON FRONT AGAINST WAR

"WHEREAS Christianity is and must remain fundamentally and unalterably opposed to the war system; and

"WHEREAS the combined voice of a united Christendom can and should outlaw and banish war as a means of settling international disputes; we

"RECOMMEND that the Board of Trustees of this Convention be authorized and instructed to appoint a committee to use every effort to establish a common front of every Christian denomination to this end and to pledge the continual support of this denomination in such a movement.

XV. PEACE BONDS

"WHEREAS the importance of strengthening and implementing the agencies for peace is self-evident; we

"RECOMMEND to our people through the Board of Trustees of the General Convention, the purchase of Peace Bonds, in cooperation with the National Council for the Prevention of War, with the allotment of 40% of the purchase price to the financing of the program of our own Commission on International Relations.

XVI. PEACE PLEBISCITE

"WHEREAS the Peace Plebiscite which was originated by the Congregationalist Church has aroused a wide-spread interest; and

"WHEREAS it will be of far more value in determining the attitude of church people toward the problem of world peace if all churches were to unite in the undertaking; therefore, we

"RECOMMEND that our Board of Trustees be directed to take the necessary steps to assure the participation of our Universalist people in this Plebiscite.

INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Paris Congress - 1935

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International Trade

The International Chamber of Commerce declares that, in the present world situation, the development of international commerce is a factor vital to the revival of trade and to the peace of the nations.

The Chamber is not, indeed, blind to the fact that certain factors, upon which the renewal of business activity and the commercial cooperation of the nations depend, do not lie within the economic realm. The security of the nations and their will to peace, the establishment of conditions and of relations favourable to these factors, are the foundations on which confidence rests; and on confidence depend contracts and investments, the accumulation of savings and the granting of credits.

The Chamber is likewise aware that economic questions can less than ever be separated from financial questions, and that the re-establishment of financial order can alone mark the end of economic chaos.

The Chamber, finally, is fully conscious of the fact that the state of international commerce cannot be thought of as independent of other economic factors, such as the disordered condition of production, the excessive mass of unproductive investments, the intervention of political factors in business activity or the burdens to which business is subjected.

With these preliminary considerations, the Chamber believes that the commercial nations of the world invite sure disaster if a policy of national self-sufficiency is generally pursued. It is realized that this policy has been adopted in most cases as a defensive measure, but now that high tariffs, quotas and exchange restrictions have become general, they have checked international trade to such an extent that no revival of prosperity is possible, either for the world as a whole or for separate nations, unless these barriers are modified. If they are deliberately maintained, general depression and unemployment must continue, with falling standards of living everywhere.

The International Chamber of Commerce recommends the following principles and policies to the Governments of the world and to the Chamber's members in order to influence the actions of Governments:

1. That international exchange rates be stabilized as an indispensable necessity for the restoration of international trade, and that an international gold standard cannot function safely over a long period in the face of excessive restrictions to trade.

2. That internal and international indebtedness should be recognized as one of the causes of the shrinkage of world trade and that Governments should take individual or concerted measures to deal with this indebtedness.

3. That one of the conditions of economic recovery is the balancing of Budgets and that nations should balance their Budgets by economy rather than by increasing taxes which are already, in all nations, too heavy.

4. That, as an incontestable economic principle, the movement of goods and services be allowed in settlement of obligations whether arising out of trade or otherwise. Countries with a creditor balance against the world in general must accept payment in this way, thus admitting that a passive balance on their general trade account is not invariably detrimental. Debtor countries are not justified

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FULL TEXT OF STATEMENT SPONSORED BY NETHERLANDS MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AND REPRINTED BY SCIENCE NEWS LETTER, WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 26, 1935.

A scientific warning that a "war psychosis" threatens our civilization was issued recently signed by 339 psychiatrists of thirty nations. Copies of their solemn statement have been sent by the Netherlands Medical Association to leading statesmen in Europe and throughout the world. We reproduce here the complete text of the document:

Present World Mentality Portends Destructive War Psychosis

We PSYCHIATRISTS, whose duty it is to investigate the normal and diseased mind, and to serve mankind with our knowledge, feel impelled to address a serious word to you in our quality of physicians.

It seems to us that there is in the world a mentality which entails grave dangers to mankind, leading, as it may, to an evident war-psychosis.

War means that all destructive forces are set loose by mankind against itself.

War means the annihilation of mankind by technical science.

As in all things human, psychological factors play a very important part in the complicated problem of war.

If war is to be prevented the nations and their leaders must understand their own attitude towards war.

By self-knowledge a world calamity may be prevented.

Therefore we draw your attention to the following:

Man's Fighting Instinct Both Creative and Destructive

1. There is a seeming contradiction between the conscious individual aversion to war and the collective preparedness to wage war. This is explained by the fact that the behaviour, the feelings, the thoughts of an independent individual are quite different from those of a man who forms part of a collective whole. Civilized twentieth century man still possesses strong, fierce and destructive instincts, which have not been sublimated, or only partly so, and which break loose as soon as the community to which he belongs feels itself threatened by danger.

The unconscious desire to give rein to the primitive instinct not only without punishment but even with reward, furthers in a great measure the preparedness for war.

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NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE

Statement of Principles

(Adopted at the meeting on June 3, 1935)

The effort to abolish war is the immediate phase of the long struggle of mankind for freedom and for recognition of the claims of human welfare as superior to those of material wealth.

The abolition of war is not only an end in itself but it is also the means to the attainment of certain objectives. Economic security cannot be permanently obtained while war recurs to disrupt international relations, and the requirements of war dictate unsound economic policies. Social and economic justice cannot be firmly established so long as the war system, holding human life cheap, continues to be tolerated. The principles of democratic government cannot be preserved in the face of the contradictory claims of militarism. The teachings of religion are denied embodiment in civilization so long as governments are committed to the opposing commandments of the war system. Individual freedom of conscience, of thought, of speech cannot be assured until the world is freed from war and the threat of war.

Present world relationships are the result of historical development which, accelerated in recent years by scientific progress, has brought all nations into a single community and led to the establishment of world institutions designed to deal with the changed international situation. National economic policies must be brought into harmony with the fact of world interdependence and must contribute to the development of accompanying world institutions. National defense policies, while the world system of security is being perfected, must be such as will not lead to armament rivalry and the fear of war, in themselves obstacles to international cooperation.

These principles require upon the part of the United States the following policies which should be considered as constituting a unified program.

1. Economic Policies

The United States should cooperate with other nations to establish currencies and in general to lessen tariffs and other barriers to international trade, and effective measures should be taken for a final settlement of the war debts

The United States should cooperate with other nations through our membership in the International Labor Organization and in other ways to raise the standard of living and to assist in solving pressing economic and social problems.

2. National Defense Policies

The national defense policy of the United States should be shaped on the basis of the defense of our soil and in fulfillment of our obligations under the Kellogg Briand Pact; the army and navy should be limited and organized in accordance with this conception.

The military branches of our government should not be allowed to assume the policy-forming function that belongs to the civilian departments of the Government.

U.S. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct 9, 1941

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A PAGEANT OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

By Elizabeth Hubbard Ponsell

(First appeared in the "International Journal of Religious Education," October, 1935, and reprinted with permission.)

(Quiet, appropriate music may be played softly throughout.)

CHILD: (seated in arm-chair looking at Bible story book) I like these stories, even if they were written long, long ago. I wish I could play with some of the boys and girls I have been reading about. I know we would be good friends. (Closes book, yawns, and stretches. Enter FATHER TIME with flowing beard, long cloak, and scythe.) Why Father Time, what is the matter? You seem very sad.

FATHER TIME: Why shouldn't I be discouraged? The world itself is very beautiful with fertile valleys, rugged mountains, crystal lakes, and the gorgeous colors of the autumn leaves and brilliant sunsets. Everywhere I look the heavens and earth are showing the glory of God. Why is it that the people of the earth cannot all live happily together, enjoying the good things of the earth and helping one another. Instead they are constantly at war, and are making preparations for war, with distrust and prejudice and hatred following.

CHILD:5 But Father Time, it is only the older people who feel this way. The children of the world are friends. We like to play and look at pictures. I have just been reading about a woman named Naomi, a Jewess, who went with her husband and two boys to live in Moab. I'm sure that the children in this new land were kind to Naomi and her family for the boys married girls of Moab, Ruth and Orpha. And they seemed like daughters to Naomi.

FATHER TIME: My child, that was long ago. People were more hospitable then.

CHILD: I'm sure that the children of today have that same friendly feeling toward one another. Here are some coming now.

(Enter JAPANESE GIRL and AMERICAN GIRL hand in hand.)

AMERICAN GIRL: Last Easter when I was in Washington I saw the cherry trees in bloom which your country gave to ours. I can't imagine anything more beautiful.

JAPANESE GIRL: We Japanese do love flowers. Here is one for you (presents a chrysanthemum). But flowers aren't everything. I shall never forget how the people from America helped us at the time of the earthquake in Tokio. You fed thousands of us, and helped in rebuilding our homes.

(They pass and stand in the background. Enter DUTCH BOY and INDIAN BOY.)

INDIAN BOY: What fun it must be to walk in wooden shoes! May I try them on?

DUTCH BOY: Certainly. We don't wear wooden shoes very often now in my country. Holland is changing as other lands are. We like to ride bicycles and play games and run as you do, and wooden shoes are in the way.

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.U6N5

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INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Paris Congress - 1935

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Sup. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 2, 1944

International Trade

The International Chamber of Commerce declares that, in the present world situation, the development of international commerce is a factor vital to the revival of trade and to the peace of the nations.

The Chamber is not, indeed, blind to the fact that certain factors, upon which the renewal of business activity and the commercial cooperation of the nations depend, do not lie within the economic realm. The security of the nations and their will to peace, the establishment of conditions and of relations favourable to these factors, are the foundations on which confidence rests; and on confidence depend contracts and investments, the accumulation of savings and the granting of credits.

The Chamber is likewise aware that economic questions can less than ever be separated from financial questions, and that the re-establishment of financial order can alone mark the end of economic chaos.

The Chamber, finally, is fully conscious of the fact that the state of international commerce cannot be thought of as independent of other economic factors, such as the disordered condition of production, the excessive mass of unproductive investments, the intervention of political factors in business activity or the burdens to which business is subjected.

With these preliminary considerations, the Chamber believes that the commercial nations of the world invite sure disaster if a policy of national self-sufficiency is generally pursued. It is realized that this policy has been adopted in most cases as a defensive measure, but now that high tariffs, quotas and exchange restrictions have become general, they have checked international trade to such an extent that no revival of prosperity is possible, either for the world as a whole or for separate nations, unless these barriers are modified. If they are deliberately maintained, general depression and unemployment must continue, with falling standards of living everywhere.

The International Chamber of Commerce recommends the following principles and policies to the Governments of the world and to the Chamber's members in order to influence the actions of Governments:

1. That international exchange rates be stabilized as an indispensable necessity for the restoration of international trade, and that an international gold standard cannot function safely over a long period in the face of excessive restrictions to trade.

2. That internal and international indebtedness should be recognized as one of the causes of the shrinkage of world trade and that Governments should take individual or concerted measures to deal with this indebtedness.

3. That one of the conditions of economic recovery is the balancing of Budgets and that nations should balance their Budgets by economy rather than by increasing taxes which are already, in all nations, too heavy.

4. That, as an incontestable economic principle, the movement of goods and services be allowed in settlement of obligations whether arising out of trade or otherwise. Countries with a creditor balance against the world in general must accept payment in this way, thus admitting that a passive balance on their general trade account is not invariably detrimental. Debtor countries are not justified

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DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
Missions Building,
Indianapolis, Ind.

The International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, October 12-18, 1936, adopted the following Resolutionson World Peace:

1. That we condemn the huge expenditures for military and naval preparedness by the government of the United States and by other nations of the world. Feverish military preparations can be justified only on the ground of an intention to make war. In the present state of world insecurity the expenditure of huge sums on rearmament can serve only to increase fears and apprehensions and to make more certain the outbreak of war. We fully recognize that responsible statesmen are striving to avert another world conflict, but we are compelled to recognize also that rearmament to defend the very policies which are basic to our present international unrest nullifies much of their efforts and renders that conflict more inevitable.

2. We re-affirm our conviction that the road to peace is not the path of force and violence, but the avenues of sympathy, understanding and goodwill which have been advocated by men of spiritual insight and in all ages and which are supremely manifested in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who appropriately wears the title "The Prince of Peace." We believe that these principles are embodied in the spirit of such instruments of international understanding as the General Pact for the Renunciation of War (the Kellogg-Briand Pact), the World Court of International Justice, the League of Nations, and other agreements for international conciliation, arbitration and judicial determination. We re-affirm our conviction that despite the obvious defects in the existing machinery of such agencies, the principles upon which they are founded are valid and are the basis upon which lasting peace must finally be achieved. The only alternative we can see to some form of international cooperation to maintain peace and settle international disputes by pacific means is a return to the outworn and discredited system of dangerous military alliances to form a balance of power.

3. We are committed to international cooperation to maintain peace, but we will not commit ourselves to aid nations which break the peace by making war upon other nations. We therefore urge that the present neutrality laws of the United States be strengthened and made permanent. We urge that permanent mandatory legislation be enacted to forbid the sale to belligerent nations of arms, munitions and all other materials of war, including raw materials and the making of loans and extension of credits for war purposes. We recognize the economic consequences of such a policy, but declare our conviction that such sacrifices are to be preferred to involvement in the conflicts which participation in war profits makes almost inevitable.

4. Believing that the basic causes of war are economic and that peaceful readjustment is necessary to world stability, we urge that a world economic conference be called to devise ways and means to provide more equitable access to sources of raw materials and to world markets to those nations which now suffer disadvantages because of the lack of such commodities and facilities.

5. We urge that the military and naval policy of the United States be confined to the actual defense needs of continental United States and its possessions in the Western Hemisphere. We are unwilling to sacrifice American lives to protect foreign investments or American citizens who prefer to live abroad under the protection of American citizenship and the American army and navy.

6. We stand for the nationalization of the armament and munitions industry to curb the greed and avarice of profit-takers who have enriched themselves in times of national emergency and who have been proved willing to foster international

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THIRD TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE
ASSOCIATED COUNTRY WOMEN OF THE WORLD
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
June 1 - 6, 1936

Excerpt from address delivered by Carrie Chapman Catt at banquet of International Farm Women, June 4, 1936.

It is not long, as time flies, since all schools, open to girls, taught the rudiments of education only. The first women to graduate with degrees in the entire world were in the class of 1841 at Oberlin, Ohio, and the women numbered three. The reason the world gave for the denial of education to women at that time was the opinion that women's brains could not grasp higher learning, and even if they could, learning was inappropriate for women whose God-appointed sphere was subservience

The aim of the woman movement was to develop such self-respect in women that they would no longer willingly remain in a position of subservience and to develop in men such comprehension of equity that they would no longer attempt to exact it. The movement has traveled far since those days.

Education is now worldwide for women. In the year of 1932, 372,912 women were students in the colleges and universities of the United States, or about 40% of the total number of college students in 1932 were women. Colleges and universities all the world around have also opened wide their doors to women and thousands of graduates are to be found in all lands. This is an enormous change in less than a century.

In the early days women speakers in this country were pelted with bad eggs and rotting vegetables. Our famous Independence Hall in Philadelphia was torn down and set on fire by a mob, because a woman was speaking there. Now women may speak whenever they have anything to say and equally when they have nothing to say. More, women now vote in more than half the countries of the world. Within a century women have become rational, responsible human beings, endowed with an education, the right to speak, and the right to vote. What should the world expect of educated, self-respecting human beings? And what do we expect of ourselves? The old routine for women is not good enough for us now.

This is a period of problems. I sometimes think there is a problem for each human being which he is trying to persuade the world to settle for him. I do not know what most of them are about. I even lose sight of my own special problems in the chaos at times.

GHS: Div. for Study, Wash. Office Bemis, Oct. 2, 1941

WOMEN AND WORLD HIGHWAYS

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WOMEN WANT PEACE

("World Call," January, 1936)

As the strains of the great Tschaikowsky's "Fifth Symphony" died away, a voice declared, "The women of America are rallying to the cause of peace. Women want peace! Theirs is the bitter sacrifice when war comes. As the war drums resound across the world again, American women in the home, on the farm and in every field of endeavor, are praying that their husbands, their sons and their sweethearts will not be called upon to take part in another futile conflict." Then representative women of America took their turns at the microphone,* presenting to the radio listeners of their country the case against war. From the home, the farm and the school, from the writer, the aviatrix and the moving picture actress, from the world of religion, of labor and of the press, came the emphatic declaration, "Women want peace."

Who were these women, and what were their convictions? We give here brief excerpts from their messages:

If war is to be abolished, government policies must be changed, and the price of certain economic adjustments must be paid. No government can or will undertake to make these changes or to pay this price until it knows it has the support of its people.—Florence Brewer Boeckel, educational director of the National Council for Prevention of War.

The first requisite for bringing about peace is a state of mind. When people are thoroughly convinced that international difficulties are not settled by force, they will put their full weight into having these difficulties settled by reason. Then we will have peace. Too little stress is laid upon the preparedness of thought for a future of real peace. This can only be brought about through education, and the insistence necessary in this type of education must be made largely through the cooperation of women.—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

PEOPLE VS. PLANS

The Secret of World Peace

When I think of Russia now....I think of people, and not of ideas and plans and organizations. Perhaps, after all, I am not a modern woman. Certainly I have no modern answer to give when I am asked...."I hear you've been to Russia. What do you think of it?" I can only protest childishly, "It is not it; it is them, and I like them!" —Anne Morrow Lindbergh in "North to the Orient."

The slogan of the farm women's international organization, The Associated Country Women of the World, is "The Will to Peace." The farmer's wife, knowing by years of experience the fixedness of sowing and reaping, dreads the harvest that war engenders and knows too well what will be the result for years to come....The farmer's wife is not discouraged by the small contribution she can bring to peace. There is power in small things. A tiny seed becomes a great tree. A policy of supplanting hatred by friendship and good will may take time to bring results, but it is a sure way, for "love never faileth."—Mrs. Eliza Keats Young.

Truth about what feeds the fuel for war-mindedness, real information for all people about meetings behind closed doors, should be the heart of any drive against war, and there is just one available channel through which this progress can be achieved—a free press all over the world .....In the reading of daily newspapers people take for granted as a normal service the opportunity to keep in touch with current events, but they little realize that their choice in papers, plus the knowledge gained from the contents, gives them power which they can exert on public opinion and thereby change the whole course of civilization on the greatest battlefront of history—Mrs. Ogden Reid, vice-president of the "New York Herald Tribune." (Mrs. Reid was recently

*National Council for Prevention of War broadcast, October 9, 1935.

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May 25, 1936.

COST OF ARMY AND NAVY*
Fiscal Year 1937
(June 30, 1936-June 30, 1937)

The following figures indicate the rapidly mounting increase, during the Roosevelt Administration, of Army and Navy appropriations.

Regular Appropriations for National Defense

1934	$479,694,307
1935	552,196,154
1936	838,745,838
1937	913,310,191

The 1937 appropriations have nearly doubled those of 1934. They are an increase of $74,559,353 over the 1936 figures.

WAR COSTS 1937

Current appropriations, plus Veterans Administration, the bonus, and interest on the Public Debt due to war -- $4,500,000,000

Cost per day -- $12,300,000

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* Figures obtained from the House Appropriations Committee and the Treasury Department.

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Prepared by Miriam Levering
for World Problems leaflets,
Edited by Florence Brewer Boeckel
National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

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Current Issue Letter

No. 1 — 1936-7

THE Friends' Peace Committee, in order to aid Friends who desire to promote Peace policies during the next few months, submits the following brief summary of some of the issues likely to be up in the near future:

Neutrality Legislation

The present Neutrality Law expires next spring, and should be replaced. New legislation should give authority to restrict shipments of essential war materials, like fuel, minerals and cotton, as well as actual munitions of war. It should also minimize the danger of this country's blocking efforts of the League of Nations to maintain or restore peace. There is a division on this point among those actively interested in promoting peace, and much of the discussion of neutrality legislation will deal with measures which, though intended to keep the United States out of war, are likely to hamper the League of Nations.

Trade Agreements

The law authorizing the trade agreements also expires in the spring. Those who desire the progressive gradual lowering of trade barriers so that nations can buy essential raw materials instead of feeling compelled to obtain them by conquest, will desire to support either the continuation of the present law or its replacement by some other legislation adequate

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Official Pronouncements of the General Assembly, 1936:

We encourage the activity of all Christian men and women in all constructive efforts to promote the peace of the world.

a. We commend to all educators a policy of instruction to the effect that war, as an accepted method for the settlement of international difficulties, is immoral, uneconomical, and inhuman; that it violates the Paris Pact to which our government has affixed its signature; and that it is opposed to the Gospel of Christ.

b. We protest against compulsory military training in schools and colleges, and we recognize the right of Presbyterian students conscientiously to object to such training, because our Church believes in God as Lord of the conscience.

c. We advise mature people as well as the youth of our land to seek untiringly the underlying causes of war and to devote themselves to the development of more excellent ways of solving disputes.

d. We commend to our government a foreign policy and procedure consistent with the teachings of Jesus: a cooperative, good neighbor policy. We protest against the glaring inconsistencies of the professions of a desire for peace by our government and its unprecedented expenditures of money in building a war machine.

e. We urge the Church to give more earnest heed to the word of our Lord, "Blessed are the peacemakers," and, through all agencies, to give itself anew to the disarmament of the mind of the world and to the creation of a will to peace.

f. We urge the adoption by our government of effective measures to insure neutrality when other nations are at war, even though this involve the loss of trade and profits.

g. We urge the abolition of the private manufacture of the munitions of war.

Acknowledging penitently that the hands of our nation are bloody and unclean, and acknowledging too our failure, along with other peoples of the earth, to meet the just need for fairer distribution of raw materials and foods without which the danger of war can scarcely be removed, we express our condemnation of the wrong which the country of Ethiopia has recently had to bear.

Dr. Joseph Anderson Vance reported for a special committee of the General Assembly to consider the proposed amendment to the Confession of Faith, Chapter XXIII, Section II. The Committee recommended that the following amendment be transmitted to the presbyteries for their vote:

'In Chapter XXIII, Section II, strike out the word 'as' and the words 'so for that end, they may lawfully, now under the New Testament, wage war upon just and necessary occasion'; so that the Section shall read thus: 'It is lawful for Christians to accept and execute the office of a magistrate, when called thereunto; in the managing whereof they ought especially to maintain piety, justice and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each commonwealth.'"

Dr. Mark A. Matthews moved as a minority report that the overture be not transmitted to the presbyteries. Dr. Howard Moody Morgan spoke in opposition to that substitute. The Assembly rejected the substitute and adopted the original report of the Committee.

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GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
237 Fourth Ave., New York City.

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The General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches, at its meeting June, 1936, adopted the folbwing resolutions:

"Recognizing through experience that if one member of the family of nations suffers, all the other members must needs suffer with it, we of this General Council declare our faith in the principle of international cooperation, rather than in the principle of national isolation, and urge upon our government the necessity of taking the initiative in strengthening or creating such international agencies as are necessary to promote international understanding and world peace.

"Furthermore, the Council reaffirms its former action favoring membership of the United States in the League of Nations and the World Court. The members of the Council pledge themselves to the work of convincing the fellow members of their churches and their communities of the conviction of the Council that as a practical matter the principal if not the only way to international peace available to the world is still through the League of Nations and similar machinery."

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SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 Eighth Avenue, North,
Nashville, Tennessee.

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Recommendations adopted by the Social Service Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1936:

Peace and War.

1. That we reaffirm our belief in and devotion to international peace and to the spirit of peace both for individuals and nations as embodied in the teachings and exemplified by the spirit of Christ our Lord.

2. That we reaffirm also our utter opposition to and hatred of war as the most inexcusable and insane policy that could be pursued by the nations of the earth in their dealings with one another, destructive not only of human life and treasure but of all that is high and worthy in human ideals and objectives.

3. That we pledge ourselves as citizens and Christians that we will not support our government in any war except such as might be necessary to repel invasion of our land or to preserve fundamental human rights and liberties.

4. That we can see no just ground for the enormous military and naval establishment now being built up and maintained by our government at the expense of approximately one billion dollars a year, and that we look with disfavor both upon this establishment as being in the nature of a challenge to other countries and contributing to the war spirit and upon the hugh and unnecessary tax burden laid upon the shoulders of people already overburdened with taxation.

5. That we again express our belief that the Protocol of the Court of International Justice, commonly known as the World Court, with the reservations already made by the United States Senate, should be ratified by the Senate and that we all give our influence to that end.

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NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
152 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.
(Maurice Ambrose Levy, Corresponding Secretary, 420 Elmira St., Williamsport, Pa.)

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The Northern Baptist Convention adopted the following resolution at its meeting held in St. Louis, Mo., May 20-24, 1926:

WHEREAS, the teachings of Jesus and his gospel of love and brotherhood are completely incompatible with the practices of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we declare our unalterable opposition to war as a means of settling international disputes, and urge non-participation, except in case of invasion; that we reaffirm our belief in the right of conscience to refuse to bear arms or submit to military training; and that we earnestly recommend the consideration of every possible means of taking the profit out of war or the preparation for war."

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REPRINT FROM

PEACE ACTION

NEWS BULLETIN ISSUED BY

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR

VOL. III, No. 6 WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER, 1936 5 CENTS A COPY

Another War for Democracy?

False, Dangerous Slogan Is Now Being Popularized

BY FREDERICK J. LIBBY

IF WE join in another war, it will be another war in defense of democracy. The slogan, "The democracies must stand together," is already being made familiar to our ears by speakers from Great Britain and France as well as by some of our own leaders of thought. Against this slogan we must fortify our minds and organize our strength.

The appeal is attractive: France and Great Britain, the two great democracies left in Europe, must be supported by their fellow-democracy across the ocean against the growing power of the fascist States, Germany and Italy.

We respectfully suggest to all who favor our taking part in another war for democracy that one such war was enough to eliminate half of the democracies of the world. Another would end democracy everywhere. Even the United States would go fascist, as our War Department realistically anticipates. Its industrial mobilization plan provides for fascistic control of the whole nation, not only for the period of the war but for six months after the President shall have declared the *emergency*, not the war, to be at an end.

We oppose our country's being involved in any war anywhere. The legislative program of the whole American peace movement, therefore, starts with the strengthening of our neutrality legislation.

Let us, before our soldiers mobilize again by the million, calmly analyze the slogan, "war for democracy." For what are we actually to fight? Is it for Great Britain, as a democracy, or is it for the British Empire, which is clinging to the colonies taken from Germany, control of which the British Conservative party declared at its recent convention must not even be discussed?

Is it French democracy for which our boys would die again on foreign soil or is it for the French *comité des forges*, that mighty network of steel men and munition makers, whose malevolent influence has bedeviled European politics ever since the Versailles Treaty gave it the power to prevent peace?

There is one other "democracy" in the combination that beckons us. It is Soviet Russia. Russia and France a year or two ago formed an alliance similar to their alliance preceding the World War. Germany and Japan have replied with an alliance of some sort "against communism." Alliances breed counter-alliances. Italy and Germany have also found that they possess certain common interests in the mad and reckless European game of pressure politics and are winning diplomatic victories against France and Russia in the Balkan region.

The propaganda in our press that would involve us in this economic struggle ignores the sordid history of the years in which the Versailles Treaty prevented peace and reconciliation between France and a disarmed German Republic. It ignores the continual pin pricks and humiliations that contributed heavily to the election of Chancellor Hitler and German rearmament. It ignores the policy of encirclement of Germany designed to compel her to be permanently helpless. It would have us divide Europe as we did in 1917 into devils and angels, we taking the side, of course, of the angels—the British Empire, France and Russia, in whose behalf we went to war less than twenty years ago. It is because the victors of the World War have used, and are using, their power so unwisely that they need us again. They are now taking steps even to secure further loans from us.

Stripping the democracy slogan bare of its poetic features, we find, then, that our boys would be giving their lives, not "in defense of democracy," but in defense of British and French prestige and economic supremacy, of British colonies in Africa, of mischief-making munition firms in France, and in defense of Communist Russia, engaged in mortal combat with her Fascist foes.

It is to prevent repeating the futile sacrifices of 1917 that the American peace movement demands mandatory neutrality legislation from the next session of Congress.

CONCENTRATE ON CONGRESS!

[illegible] for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1940

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YOUR BACK YARD: CRADLE OF WAR

By Dorothee Carousso

("The Household Magazine," July, 1936)

I was walking down a residential street in the small town which is my home and was viewing, with a sense of strong confidence, the shining windows and starched curtains and well-groomed yards. Here, the smell of fresh gingerbread drifted out. Over there, bright clean laundry blew in the sun. Women are so efficient nowadays, I was thinking. Women are smart, they're modern, they're making a much better world of it.

Then, out from between the houses came a flying wedge of little boys, each with a pistol or pop-gun or machine-gun turned in vicious play upon some other. One ten-year-old yelled plaintively:

"Aw, I'm sick of killing guys. Let's rob a bank."

That is verbatim as it came from the mouth of that little boy. It seemed fantastic that, after all that has been said and written on the subject of teaching children the ways of peace, here was this group of eight or ten children, clean, well-fed, well-dressed, playing the happy game of war.

The incident made a deep impression on me. In the course of teas and bridges and club meetings, I made overt inquiries. I have discovered an amazing fact. Mothers are resigned to the idea that little boys <u>have</u> to play war! No other game can exhaust their store of energy and vocal power as can the game of killing. There isn't a mother in my town who would dare tell her son that he is forbidden to play war. Nor is there a mother with the moral courage to face a Christmas morning without a pistol or a rifle or a machine-gun for her son. Peace on earth, goodwill toward men--and a gun for Sonny.

These boys in my town are adopting unconsciously the position that there are only two alternatives in dealing with an enemy. One can run away from his enemy, or one can kill him. There is no understanding of the necessity of compromise in life.

Many mothers take the attitude that this is a far-fetched supposition, that much unnecessary to-do has been made over this question. They believe that, as little boys grow into manhood, they leave behind them all desire for booming guns and marching columns. They believe this in spite of the fact that psychologists emphatically assure them that it is not so. From early childhood into maturity, a man will carry the belief that his greatest weapon is violence, that his scars are heroic, that his life is more important than that of his enemy. And as long as he is taught, or permitted to learn that, we will have a war for every generation that is born.

This is truth. This is terrible truth.

Of course, it isn't fair to take Sonny's gun away from him when every other boy in the neighborhood has one. It isn't right to make him play ball alone in the yard while all his playmates are shrieking for each other's blood all around him. But, if the neighborhood parents would put their heads together and agree to disarm their boys, it would be the little boy <u>with</u> the gun who had no one to play with.

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THIRD TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE
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Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
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Excerpt from address delivered by Carrie Chapman Catt at banquet of International Farm Women, June 4, 1936.

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Who were these women, and what were their convictions? We give here brief excerpts from their messages:

If war is to be abolished, government policies must be changed, and the price of certain economic adjustments must be paid. No government can or will undertake to make these changes or to pay this price until it knows it has the support of its people.—Florence Brewer Boeckel, educational director of the National Council for Prevention of War.

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PEOPLE VS. PLANS

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Truth about what feeds the fuel for war-mindedness, real information for all people about meetings behind closed doors, should be the heart of any drive against war, and there is just one available channel through which this progress can be achieved—a free press all over the world .....In the reading of daily newspapers people take for granted as a normal service the opportunity to keep in touch with current events, but they little realize that their choice in papers, plus the knowledge gained from the contents, gives them power which they can exert on public opinion and thereby change the whole course of civilization on the greatest battlefront of history—Mrs. Ogden Reid, vice-president of the "New York Herald Tribune." (Mrs. Reid was recently

*National Council for Prevention of War broadcast, October 9, 1935.

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SO THEY'RE TALKING WAR AGAIN

By Ernestine Schumann-Heink

(Extracts from article appearing in "Good Housekeeping," Nov., 1936)

We must stop this thing -- we women...I'd make the world realize what war does to men -- the broken bodies, the blinded eyes, the groping wits. The public sees only the men who look nice, on parades and at the big war hospitals; but when you go through the doors marked "No Admittance," you see different sights. Those are the doors I go through when I visit the hospitals -- and I never announce my coming. Oh, God, what horrors a war can cause! Worst of all the horrors to me is the shell-shocked -- men who are healthy, strong animals. They look at you -- they listen to you -- but in their eyes there is no life. The thing that makes a human soul is gone from them.

Armistice Day comes, and I hear people planning for a holiday. And there will be parades, and the bands will play, and we shall cheer and praise and applaud. But on Armistice Day there should be no rejoicing, no celebration. We should bow our heads in prayer to God, humbly asking that never again shall this thing of war come back.

I am old now -- I was not exactly young in the last war -- but I would go through every bit of sorrow and struggle again to march in a great crusade against war. In war every drop of my blood is my country's. There is nothing she could ask of me that I would not do. But, oh, how much more gladly would I shed my blood to buy peace for her -- peace to all eternity. God give us women the strength and the determination to rid our country forever of this threat to our beloved sons and daughters!

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

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NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

PROGRAM OF WORK 1936-1938—

.....

Downward revision of tariffs through reciprocal trade agreements.

A foreign policy of this country, as a nonbelligerent nation, which will not obstruct the efforts of other nations to achieve peace.

Participation in the collective system for the prevention of war; including implementation of the Pact of Paris, and membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice and the League of Nations

Dept. of Government and Foreign Policy
Continuing Responsibilities
(for support when necessary)

1. Reduction of arms by international agreement.

2. Government control of the manufacture and shipment of arms.

3. International economic cooperation.

4. Downward revision of war debts.

Study

1. The evolving foreign policy of the United States.

2. Conduct of foreign policy by the President, Senate, and House of Representatives.

3. Domestic policies affecting international relations such as immigration, national defense, and monetary policies.

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RAW MATERIALS, TRADE AND MIGRATION

By A. F. Hinrichs

(Speech before the National
Peace Conference, April 20, 1936)

I wish to talk about three interrelated topics: raw materials, trade and migration. I have no solution to offer from the point of view of world peace to the problemspresented by the distribution of raw materials, but it may be worthwhile to inspect briefly the character of the economic problems which are involved.

What are raw materials and what is their significance to human life? The level of living, which a people is able to achieve, depends upon the raw materials at their disposal, the knowledge which they possess as to the utilization of these materials, and for short periods of time the capital equipment available to work the resources. The North American Indian required approximately five square miles of territory for every man, woman and child in order to support his standard of living based upon hunting and primitive tillage. At the present time the United States with a moderately self-contained economy supports more than 40 people per square mile, 200 times as many as the Indian culture would permit and at a many times higher level of living. That represents not a change in resources, but a several thousand-fold increase in man's capacity to use what surrounds him and lies under his feet. Rushing water has ceased to be primarily an impediment to transportation and has become a source of energy.

But at any given moment, when the same knowledge is available to all peoples and when all have access (if not equal access) to the pool of international capital, natural resources determine the life that can be supported. For a people not primarily dependent upon trade we find an enormous range. Barren Labrador has a population of 1 person for every 4 square miles, Persia has 10 persons per square mile, whereas the rich Hungarian plain supports 240. China proper, whose animal and food product exports and imports balance at about $150,000,000, represents the approximate upper limit to which resources can be pushed. It supports precariously 300 persons per square mile.

Three hundred years ago, when trade still constituted the surface of life even for most Europeans, it might have been conceivable that a redistribution of resources be effected among the various peoples. The chief resource was agricultural land and such other resources as were widely distributed. Slow starvation and vast migrations had for thousands of years been a means of approximating a balance between the haves and have-nots who could support life until they came close enough to reach each other's throats. Even today when resources become

Gift: Div. for Study. War Tiles Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

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IS YOUR LOCAL PEACE COUNCIL ADEQUATE?

By Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary
National Council for Prevention of War
Washington, D.C.

Local Peace Councils and Peace-Action Committees are beginning to dot the land. In large cities and in rural communities alike, the need of cooperation in the cause of peace is being recognized. Another war threatens us. War would unquestionably wreck our economic and social structure and bring fascism. Yet the steps that are being taken thus far to prevent war are dangerously inadequate. There were not 30,000 people in the whole country that gave as much as a single dollar last year to any peace organization. Those who are alive to the danger and want to do something practical to prevent our drifting into another war should bestir themselves.

Peace Councils Should Comprise Five Groups

Five great groups of public opinion oppose war: the liberal women's organizations, the churches, the farm organizations, organized labor, and the colleges and schools. If these five groups will cooperate locally and nationally in active promotion of a sound and constructive program for prevention of war, the United States will no longer be helpless against war and its attendant evils.

Organized Women are Backbone of Present American Peace Movement

The backbone of the American peace movement today is the women's organizations. This is true in no other country. Labor leads in Great Britain; in France the Socialists. In the United States a dozen great women's organizations that constitute the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War founded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, plus the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which owes its origin to that other great American woman, Jane Addams, not only constitute a large part of the American peace movement but also are better informed on international affairs than any similar group of men. It is these organizations that are active in most of the local Peace Councils that we have now.

Churches of Every Faith Should Belong

The churches and synagogues belong in the peace movement on moral grounds. Probably not ten per cent of the membership of any denomination or of any single church has shown itself yet to be actively interested in war prevention, despite advanced resolutions that several religious bodies have adopted in convention. Apathy is mainly responsible - plain lack of vision. Routine activities too often crowd out great tasks, in the Church as everywhere else. Conservative church members

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Extracts from
"PEACE ON EARTH" AND CHILDREN'S TOYS
By Mabel Niedermeyer
(The "Bethany Church School Guide," Dec. 1936)

"When your children come bouncing downstairs on Christmas morning, what toys will they find awaiting them beneath the glowing lights of your Christmas tree? Toys of peace, or toys of war? Will Sonny's eyes sparkle as they catch a glimpse of a much-coveted chest of tools 'just like Daddy's, with a real hammer and saw and plane'? Or will the ruthless passion to destroy be aroused within him at the sight of row upon row of brightly painted tin soldiers standing erect before the yawning mouth of a toy cannon? Will he eagerly reach for a box of vari-colored modeling clay, and settle down on the floor and begin to shape figures with astonishing deftness and skill? Or will his hands daringly brandish a toy gun, pulling his new weapon in all directions bringing to a speedy end all of his imaginary opponents? . . . . .

"But, we hear some adults say, 'But children like guns. There is something about a gun that appeals to them.' Yes, and there is something about a gun that destroys life and happiness, too. . . . . .

"Would you give your children imitation bottles of arsenic for playthings? Of course not, for you realize that to do so would rob the word 'poison' of the dread significance you want it to have for them.

"But what about war toys for playthings? Miniature tanks, guns, and cannon are symbols of a destruction more deadly than poison....

"We have heard much about the grandeur of the 'Queen Mary' - the world's most majestic ship afloat. But have you heard that 'there are no military toys in the playrooms - no soldiers, no tanks, no toy guns. Thrills are provided instead by trains, tunnels, chutes, all miniature examples of peace-time invention. The man who planned this floating toyland is George Ramon, a Hungarian, who during travels in Europe has seen so much unrest on all sides, that he decided to keep everything military out of the small juvenile kingdom over which he held sway.'

"How about the nursery in your own home? Are you equipping it with as much care and foresight for the children who play there day after day? . . . . ."

National Council for Prevention of War
" 532-17th St., Washington, D. C.

National council for prevention of war, Washington, D. C.
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A PEACE PARADE

(A Frolic For Children)

By Jeannette Rankin - 1936

I

The American Flag -
Carried by a boy in white.

Blue "Peace" Flag -
Carried by a girl.

1 boy
1 girl

Costumes: White

Music:
"The Star Spangled Banner"

II

The Children's American Flag

Children will march in red, white, and blue "bars", and at the end of the march, if there is a sufficient number of children, will form a flag.

20 red
16 white
6 blue

	March	Flag
Red	R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R R	B B B R R R R R B B B W W W W W R R R R R R R R W W W W W W W W R R R R R R R R
White	W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	
Blue	B B B B B B	

Costumes:

Red, white, and blue costumes, with matching headdresses. The "blue" children have white stars on the back of headdress and have white stars in their hands to be displayed at the proper time.

Music:
"Strike Up The Band."

Gift: Div. for Study. War Department OCT 3 1941

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Six organizations supporting neutrality:
World Peaceways
National Council for Prevention of War
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Emergency Peace Campaign
Committee on Militarism in Education

RELEASE FOR MONDAY PAPERS
SEPTEMBER 20, 1937
Tel. of NCPW - DI 8010

Directors of the six peace organizations demanding neutrality, after consultation on the dangers ahead in the United States Far Eastern policy, issued today the following joint statement posing three questions, the only answer to each one of which is, according to the organizations, immediate invocation of the neutrality law:

1) How can this country cooperate with the League of Nations Commission in the Far East without danger of entanglement in war moves? Only if the neutrality act is immediately invoked and thereby an independent United States policy of non-participation in war established will cooperation by this country be on a safe and sound basis. If the Commission results merely in another inquiry, its value will be slight so far as the necessary prompt solution of the existing conflict is concerned. There are only two possible lines of effective action. One consists of measures of force applied against Japan. If the Commission is to move in that direction, it is of vital importance to the American people that this government invoke the neutrality law before it undertakes to cooperate. The second possibility, and the only one promising any lasting settlement, would be a joint policy which would relieve the economic situation of Japan. Invocation of the neutrality law would force acceptance of the fact that this country cannot be counted upon to give assistance in maintaining the status quo in Asia and thereby turn the attention of other governments toward the alteration of present policies bound to lead to constant conflict.

2) How in the face of the blockade of China can our own policy be kept on a basis of equal treatment to both sides? Only by the prompt application of the

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THE RISE IN ARMAMENT EXPENDITURES

Extract From
Monthly bulletin of The National City Bank

of New York, March, 1937

(After paragraph citing rise in armaments expenditures, the article states) --

"Not only must private business compete for what is left from the annual accumulation of capital, thereby forcing the cost of capital upward, but it is also forced to compete for raw materials and skilled labor, particularly if business revival happens to take place concurrently. Under these circumstances artificial demand is created for commodities, resulting in higher prices, while scarcity of labor or of productive capacity brings about 'bottle-necks' in the industrial machine. Naturally, industrial costs rise, and the export trade becomes handicapped and neglected. In turn the husbanding of foreign exchange may become necessary along with the control of imports. In such event raw materials for rearmament usually receive precedence over the imports of foodstuffs or raw materials for private business, although they not produce anything for export in return. Thus the armament expenditures not only do not add anything to the material well-being of a country, but inevitably depress the standard of living of its population.

"The consequences are even more serious if borrowing has to be resorted to in order to defray the cost of armaments. In such case an inflation of bank credit takes place, which may become particularly unsound if the credit base had been already over-extended as a result of previous borrowing for social needs or business revival. The additional purchasing power which is thus created only intensifies the pressure for certain commodities, industrial capacity and skilled labor. A temporary boom in unproductive capital goods takes place at the expense of consumption goods, only to augment the taxpayers' burden. Moreover, the difficulty of keeping the country's economy balanced becomes greater and invites more government control and interference for the purpose of counteracting the effects of its own policies.

Unreal Prosperity

"It should be unnecessary to say that this is a very unwholesome and undesirable

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LIST OF STUDY AND DISCUSSION COURSES

FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

War Vs. Youth. National Council of Jewish Juniors, 623 Madison Ave. N.Y. 1934. 15¢. Outline for organization of study and peace action groups.

America Stands for Pacific Means, Arthur Charles Watkins. National Student Forum, 532-17th St., Washington, D.C. 1937. Cloth 75¢, paper 25¢; 10 or more copies, 15¢ each. Story of adoption and practice of peaceful methods by the United States and other nations, with questions at end of each chapter.

Girls in Japan. National Board Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Ave., N.Y. 1936. 25¢. Suggested outline for discussion, including informational material to be used in club meetings, questions to talk over, things to do and books to read.

How Peace Grows, Marion C. Armstrong. Board of Christian Education, M.E. Church, South, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tenn. 1935. 25¢. World Friendship unit for junior boys and girls.

Men Conquer Guns, Walter Van Kirk and Paul Douglass. Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd St., N.Y. 1933. 5¢, 100 for $3. Pamphlet analyzing the world armament situation, attitudes of various governments at the Disarmament Conference, possibilities of disarmament and necessary steps. Statistical tables and charts.

Patriotism, by Maude Gwinn. Methodist Book Concern, 150-5th Ave. N.Y. 15¢, 2 for 25¢. Program unit for Methodist young people, worship services and sdiscussion questions.

Program for World Citizenship, A, prepared by Young Peoples' Religious Union. NCPW, 1932, 5¢. Suggestions for organization and activities, programs for study courses and reference reading; list of plays, pageants and dramatic readings.

Outlines for Club Programs for one Meeting, prepared by Mrs. Katherine Jaques, Helen M. Shope and Florence Brewer Boeckel. NCPW, 25¢, or separate leaflets 5¢. Based on the following World Problem leaflets by Florence Brewer Boeckel:

The United States Neutrality Policy
The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program
The Stabilization of Currencies
Our National Defense Policy
Taking the Profits Out of War
The Nationalization of the Munitions Industry
World Cooperation
Freedom of Speech and Press Essential to Peace

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th Street, Washington, D.C.

From six peace organizations supporting neutrality:
World Peaceways
National Council for Prevention of War
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Emergency Peace Campaign
Committee on Militarism in Education

September 20, 1937

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tel. of NCPW -
DI 8010

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Washington -- Resentment over President Roosevelt's "nullification of the intent of the neutrality law" was voiced today by Senator Gerald P. Nye (R. North Dakota), sponsor of the law, in the following message to the six organizations campaigning for application of neutrality in the Far Eastern situation:

"Must we conclude that the American dollar invested abroad and the appetite for profit from other people's wars continues to control American policy respecting our relationship to foreign fields of war? It is not surprising that resentment increases over the President's nullification of the intent of the neutrality law. One would guess that some authorities were looking upon the affair across the Pacific as just another interesting game of one kind or another without a thought of how two like setups have ultimately drawn us into conflicts with which we were not directly concerned. The fact that the neutrality law invoked would favor China over Japan is positively no reason for not invoking that policy. It is definitely time that the President moved emphatically to maintain American neutrality by getting out of the position once occupied so hopefully by President Wilson when he was prevailed upon to believe that we could have a war boom continuation and neutrality both."

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From Gilbert Stinger
National Council for Prevention of War,
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
September 17, 1937

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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Washington -- The Farmers Equity Union, largest of the farmers organizations in Wisconsin, today issued thro its president, K. W. Hones, the following plea for application of the neutrality law:

"Farmers of this nation have stood squarely behind the neutrality law from the beginning, and if we are to use it, now is the time to invoke it in the Chinese-Japanese squabble. Americans going abroad for their living should seek protection under the flag of the nation financing them. Capital invested abroad should be no grounds for our sending soldiers to protect them.

"Trading with these countries should be abandoned. If this is done, the manufacturers of such contraband goods should assume full responsibility and make no fuss if their cargoes are blown up or confiscated. Farmers of this nation are tired of being the tax goats and having our children blown to bits to satisfy the dollar greed of a few aristocrats. There is little use for Congress to pass protective legislation and then have it lie dormant in the time of need. That has as much sense as building a fire department and then destroying the alarm system or locking the hydrants."

This farm statement reflects the farm attitude expressed in the resolutions adopted by the National Grange and Farmers Union at their last annual conventions. The Grange resolution demanded "stronger neutrality legislation to include embargoes on basic war materials."

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From: National Council for Prevention of War, 532-17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. Telephone: DIstrict 8011
August 31, 1937.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A joint strategy committee of the campaign for neutrality was set up today by five organizations, including the largest peace groups of the country: World Peaceways, National Council for Prevention of War, Emergency Peace Campaign, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"Stop the Bellancas" is the immediate slogan. Three questions are raised with the State Department by the five organizations:

1. What does the State Department plan to do when the Wichita carrying Bellanca planes is stopped, as British ships have been stopped by the Japanese blockade - resist, which means getting into the war, or acquiesce under pressure, which means humiliation?

2. Now that a blockade has been declared, on what grounds does the State Department justify a policy which looks toward one of two alternatives - war or the application of neutrality under humiliating pressure instead of as an independent peace policy?

3. What does the State Department foresee as a result of the invocation of the Nine Power Treaty? Economic and military sanctions? If not sanctions, what?

Among the telegrams received this morning in support of the campaign were messages from Charles and Mary Beard; Bruce Bliven, Editor of "The New Republic,"; Major-General William C. Rivers, Retired; and Rabbi Edward L. Israel of Baltimore. The messages follow:

"It would be a betrayal of the American people to involve them in an Oriental war on any pretext whatever." - Charles and Mary Beard.

"I am in favor immediate application neutrality act Far East. It seems to me present government policy strikingly like that pursued nineteen sixteen which brought us into great war." - Bruce Bliven.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

August 19, 1937.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The people of this country demanded, and Congress enacted, the neutrality law as a protection against the United States' becoming involved in foreign wars through commercial or financial activities of citizens or policies of government. It clearly established it as the will of the American people to starve wars - at whatever cost in profits to munition makers.

Consternation is not too strong a word for the feeling of supporters of this legislation when they see the Administration failing to apply a law designed for these purposes.

The cry is being raised that the neutrality law has "failed." The only failure is the failure to apply it. If not applied in this instance, its influence as a deterrent to war will be permanently impaired. The reason offered by some defenders of the Administration's lack of action is that the war may be over in a few days. The fact that a contingent of marines is being sent to China, though it will be some weeks before they arrive, shows that this is not your opinion. Two other reasons suggested contradict each other - one being that the application of the neutrality law would favor Japan, the other that its application would be taken as an unfriendly act by Japan.

A policy adopted in advance, if automatically applied, gives no opportunity for charges of unfriendliness. The application of the law would not favor Japan because it would cut her off from obtaining munitions as China can be cut off at any moment by a Japanese blockade. If you feel that the present law should be strengthened to provide for stopping the sale of war materials, statements by members of both houses of Congress indicate that speedy action could be obtained. Congress refused to adjourn in August, 1935, until the neutrality legislation had been passed. It

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WHAT THE PRESS SAYS ABOUT NEUTRALITY

(Printed in the Bulletin of the
National Council for Prevention of War
September 1937)

The press is performing two distinct services in the Far Eastern crisis.

In the first place, it is bringing home the fact that there are only two possible alternative policies for the United States - neutrality or war. The State Department's effort to follow a line somewhere in between these two is recognized as not only getting us nowhere, but as increasing the danger of the final adoption of a war policy.

In the second place, it is demanding that the United States pursue an independent policy uninfluenced by the interests of European empires in Asia.

The Philadelphia Record demands a clear-cut policy. It says succinctly,

"Let's fish or cut bait.

"Let's make up our minds what we want to do in the Far East, and then do it....

"If we want to keep out of trouble, then we ought to speed the evacuation of Americans from the Shanghai area and remove our armed forces.....

"If we want to save China, for itself or for ourselves.... then let's join in a firm declaration with Great Britain and warn Tokio to keep hands off.

"But this business of hesitating on the burning deck between the life-boat of neutrality and fighting the fire gets us nowhere...."

The Wall Street Journal believes:

"Of two things, one should be done: either the President should proclaim a state of war existing between China and Japan, or the neutrality law should be repealed. The present situation is patently disingenuous and is susceptible of complete misunderstanding by the world."

The San Francisco Chronicle, citing our $100,000,000 loan to China and the fact that Japan by selling us gold has $130,000,000 deposited here to pay for war supplies, says significantly: "We aren't in - yet."

The national weekly, Labor, answering the pleas of certain editors that we "stop Japan," says:

"The mere fact that 'stopping Japan' might cost tens of thousands of American lives and billions of American money doesn't disturb these gentlemen....The other day...one of our

Prevention of War, 532-17th St.,
Washington, D.C. Sept. 2, 1937
Telephone: DIstrict 8011

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RELEASE FRIDAY PAPERS

The following telegram was sent President Roosevelt today (Thursday), demanding the neutrality law be immediately invoked, that the Wichita be stopped, and commending decision not to send additional cruisers to the Far East, by six peace organizations forming a board of strategy for a national neutrality campaign:

"The President

Hyde Park, N.Y.

"We heartily approve your decision not to send additional cruisers to the Far East which would have increased the tension. The Secretary of State in a radio address last night correctly credited this nation with determination to avoid being again entangled in hostilities. Because of that determination, Mr. President, apprehension grows among the people over the delay of your Administration in invoking the neutrality act in accordance with the clear intent of Congress to apply the policy of the act as soon as a state of war exists.

"We believe that every test as to when a war is a war as presented by Senator Pittman in a recent radio address has been met by recent developments.

"We earnestly believe the United States cannot afford to permit such a conflict as is going on in the far east to proceed without stamping it as war. Application of neutrality would clarify the world situation in this respect by labeling by their right name armed attacks by one nation on another.

"Particular alarm is felt over press reports indicating discussions between England and the United States looking toward armed convoys to break the blockade and also over reports that the decks of the Wichita before it sailed for China with Bellanca planes were covered with steel plates indicating an attack on the vessel is expected.

"We appeal to you to stop the Wichita and any other American vessels carrying sudh cargoes to the war zone.

"Further we feel strongly and respectfully urge upon your attention the fact that only application of the neutrality law will effectively deny the statement by Secretary Roper as published in the press implying that fear of interference with our trade is a major reason for delaying the application of the law."

G.P.O. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

From National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
September 17, 1937

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RELEASE FOR MONDAY
PAPERS, September 20

(Because of your editorials, we understand you are supporting the application of the neutrality law to the Far East. We believe the statement which follows may interest you, and hope you will send direct to the President and to Judge Walton Moore in the State Department copies of any editorials you write urging that the neutrality law be carried out.

It is our conviction that all those papers which are now urging that the neutrality law passed by Congress to protect this country against foreign war be applied in the Far Eastern situation can take full credit for themselves if this country escapes another world war.)

Directors of the six peace organizations demanding neutrality consulted in Washington today on the dangers ahead in the United States Far Eastern policy. The consultation resulted in the following joint statement posing three questions, the only answer to each one of which is, according to the organizations, immediate invocation of the neutrality law:

1 - How can this country cooperate with the League of Nations Commission in the Far East without danger of entanglement in war moves? Only if the neutrality act is immediately invoked and thereby an independent United States policy of non-participation in war established will cooperation by this country be on a safe and sound basis.

2 - How in the face of the blockade of China can our own policy be kept on a basis of equal treatment to both sides? Only by the prompt application of the act of Congress.

3 - How can we avoid the situation which will be created by further incidents in the Far East when we shall have to apply the act under less favorable circumstances or nullify it? Only by the immediate invocation of the neutrality law.

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Div. for Study War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

From National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
DI 8010
September 27, 1937

RELEASE WEDNESDAY PAPERS
SEPTEMBER 29

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ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION RECORD ON MEASURES TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF FOREIGN WARS

From October Bulletin of NCPW (In brief -- see attached for full statement)

1935-- Refused to put neutrality legislation on "must" program. Worked for measure giving President power to discriminate between belligerents thereby taking sides.

1936-- Proposed limiting supplies to belligerents to peace-time quota. Dropped this provision when there was no longer any possibility of members of the League of Nations applying sanctions to Italy.

1937-- Opposed Congressional effort for strictly mandatory law.

Blocked in committee (a) measures to prevent sale of arms to foreign countries at any time, (b) the Ludlow war referendum amendment, giving the people power to vote on foreign wars.

Prevented passage of measure to stop export of scrap metal designed to limit war supplies to Japan.

By opposition of War and Navy Departments, prevented effort for nationalization or government control of munition production.

Passed the largest army and navy peace-time appropriations in history.

Authorized the largest Regular Army, National Guard and military training system in peace-time history of this country. Doubled size of Naval R.O.T.C. with President's recommendation to include boys of 16.

Made the unprecedented proposal of leasing our naval vessels to Brazil.

* * * *

The above record throws light on present failure to apply the neutrality law in the Asiatic war, which sets precedent for the Executive branch to override any efforts of the people and Congress to keep out of foreign war.

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NEUTRALITY OR WAR

IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Speech by Florence Brewer Boeckel, Associate Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War, at its annual meeting, Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C. October 6-8, 1937.

***

I read somewhere the other day of two new classes into which people can be divided - those who like to talk about what they think and those who like to talk about what they know. For the next thirty minutes, I should like to be allowed to belong to both classes and to talk first of all a little about what I think of the relation of the neutrality policy to the world situation and then a little of the facts of the present government attitude toward the neutrality law.

The situation has obviously been changed by the President's Chicago speech, but there is one way in which it has not been changed. Our policy up to date has been confusing. It is now as confused as ever. And we still do not know what is going to be done about neutrality. There are in the present situation, however, many elements running so parallel with those of the situation that led us into the calamity of the World War that there is ground for the fear of calamity to which the President referred. There is only one clearly new factor in which to place hope. You may not follow me when I say that that factor is the neutrality law but I want to try to say why I think so.

What were, when it was passed, and what are now the fundamental purposes of that law?

It was intended basicly to do two things: to embody in law a non-participation in war policy for this country, and it was intended to check executive efforts to exercise the war-making power and to keep that power where the Constitution put it, in the hands of Congress. Is there hope that these two purposes will be carried out and what is their importance as influences in the world situation? In his speech yesterday, President Roosevelt clearly implied that it is because the neutrality law is a non-participation in war policy that it is being set aside. The only reason he indicated for his refusal to obey a law enacted by an overwhelming majority in Congress was that the United States must be free to go to war if necessary to do what - "to uphold laws and principles on which peace alone can rest secure." On the necessity of upholding laws and principles on which peace can rest secure there is agreement, but with the idea that peace can rest secure on the laws and principles reflected in the present world situation provided they are upheld by force, there is not agreement. Is there any ground for believing that what you cannot get by one war you can get by two?

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

[illegible] for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

From National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
September 24, 1937

DI 8010

RELEASE AFTER 7:30 P.M.
(E.S.T.) SEPT. 24, 1937

X-JX 1908
.U6N5

Washington -- Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, speaking as one of the leaders of the six pro-neutrality peace organizations in a nation-wide radio broadcast tonight (Friday, Sept. 24) declared our present Far Eastern policy one of "irritated frustration." He charged that "our State Department seems to have yielded to the pressure of certain business interests to nullify the neutrality law."

"The choice faced by America today," Mr. Libby said, "is invocation of the neutrality law or war." He pointed out that the only way to "stop" Japan would be by a war which we would fight alone and which it has been estimated by a member of the present Cabinet would cost the American people 40 billion dollars. If such attacks as Japan is making on China are to be prevented, he declared, methods for economic adjustments and for altering the status quo by peaceful means must be provided. He urged a program of neutrality plus measures for peaceful change.

Mr. Libby urged the immediate invocation of the neutrality law for 5 reasons, which summarized were:

1. it is the law.

2. it will protect us against dangers and incidents which we know lead to war.

3. it will make our treatment of both belligerents as nearly equal as we can make it, whereas under the present policy Japan enjoys a distinct advantage.

4. it will protect our prestige by basing our policy on a law adopted in advance of the present situation.

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From six peace organizations supporting neutrality:

National Council for Prevention of War, - DIstrict 8010
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom - MEtropolitan 3807
World Peaceways
Emergency Peace Campaign
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Committee on Militarism in Education

RELEASE FRIDAY PAPERS
October 29, 1937

The latest order of Admiral Yarnell led today to a demand from six peace organizations that the Administration "abandon its twenty-four hour policy which leaves control of peace and war issues to the Navy" and announce a policy in line with the determination of the people to keep out of foreign wars. The full statement follows:

"The recent order of Admiral Yarnell to United States Marines in China to fire at planes attacking the Shanghai area is clear proof that the Administration's twenty-four hour policy is leading toward war and directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the neutrality law designed to keep this country out of war. If that law had been carried out and our policy kept in accord with its intent, all nationals desiring to leave would have been evacuated and our armed forces withdrawn. The claim by this and other governments to the right to maintain an international settlement in China and the right to maintain armed forces there was declared yesterday by Chiang Kai-Shek to have long been a direct hindrance to the Chinese in protecting their country.

"The American people have been given no assurance of what ultimate action the present policy of the government looks toward. The Yarnell order shows that whatever our policy is, it is being determined at critical points by the Navy and that it exposes the American people to a series of incidents that may lead them directly into war.

"Lacking a clearly defined independent American policy, this country is in double danger of being unduly influenced by the policy of other powers and, as the statements of foreign officials show, of being pushed out ahead to bear the brunt of another war to end war.

"We call upon the Administration to adopt and announce with no more delay

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OPM: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

From National Council for Prevention of War
532 Seventeenth Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
Phone: DIstrict 8010

FOR RELEASE
MONDAY PAPERS
OCTOBER 11, 1937

A double line of policy for the United States in the immediate Far East situation was recommended by the Annual Meeting of the National Council for Prevention of War which has just concluded its sessions in Washington:

(1) Immediate invocation of the neutrality law to stop the supply of weapons, loans and credits with which the war that we condemn is being carried on, and to make clear a policy of non-participation in that war.

(2) Following this declaration of a no-war policy, cooperation in all peaceful means for a solution of the Far Eastern conflict through international bodies endeavoring to deal with the question.

As essential to the establishment of a secure basis for peace in the Far East or in any other region, a new world peace conference organized on broadly representative lines similar to the International Labor Organization, for the negotiation of a new series of international agreements with the creation of a permanent commission to sit continuously for the adjustment of agreements to changing world conditions was recommended.

To strengthen the first line of action suggested above, prompt withdrawal of our armed forces from the Far East, and evacuation of all our citizens from war zones except those who chose to remain at their own risk were recommended.

In support of the second line of action, the United States government was urged:

1) to recognize the political independence and territorial integrity of China by withdrawal of all claims to extra-territorial rights, to the right to maintain armed forces on Chinese soil, and to the right to dictate China's economic policy;

2) to advance, as demonstrating our non-aggressive policy in the Pacific, the date of Philippine independence, to abandon naval bases and military supervision in the Philippines, to propose neutralization of the islands and fair trade and economic arrangements with them;

3) to extend the quota system to Oriental nations in an effort to relieve points of friction;

March, 1937.

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CHURCH RESOLUTIONS

BEARING UPON PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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GPN: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

Education Department
National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

Branch Offices

68 Post St., Room 224,
San Francisco, Calif.

612 Stock Exchange Bldg.,
Portland, Oregon.

134 Chestnut Street,
Springfield, Mass.

411 Kraft Building
Des Moines, Iowa.

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.U6N5

From six peace organizations supporting neutrality:

National Council for Prevention of War - DIstrict 8010
World Peaceways
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Emergency Peace Campaign
Committee on Militarism in Education

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RELEASE THURSDAY PAPERS
October 7, 1937

Leaders of the six pro-neutrality peace organizations meeting for consultation in Washington today condemned the President's Chicago speech as rousing a war spirit. They joined in the following statement:

"In his Chicago speech the President points the American people down the road that led to the World War. He offers the same reasons for advancing down that road now that were offered in 1917. He would have the people believe that at the end of the road they will find peace and prosperity and justice. That is what they were told in 1917. They found instead war, fascism, communism, depression and debt.

"We agree with the President that treaties must be observed. Their observance cannot be brought about by war or any collective action that threatens war. We fought the World War because a treaty had been made 'a scrap of paper.' Treaties will remain scraps of paper until they are negotiated by equals and include provisions for change in the light of changing conditions. The President has offered no constructive plan for bringing about observance of treaties, but suggests the way which has been tried and found not to work. His only definite contribution so far to the observance of international law is by nullification of the neutrality law of our own country which he pledged himself to support.

(MORE)

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
Office of Recording Secretary
204 Buford Place,
Macon, Georgia

Resolutions contained in International Peace Report, 1937:

We recommend that this Conference heartily endorse and support the joint resolution introduced into Congress by the Honorable Hamilton Fish as an amendment to the Neutrality Bill. This amendment would make it "unlawful to export or attempt to export or cause to be exported arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the U.S. in peace or war." We feel that the unrestricted traffic in arms in times of peace is one of the significant contributing influences making for war and that the prohibition of such traffic in times of peace would be most effective as a deterent to the declaration of war between nations. This resolution, in effect, aims to extend the principle of neutrality to times of peace as well as of war. .....

RECIPROCAL TRADE PROGRAM

The Central Conference of American Rabbis views, with commendation, the efforts of Secretary Hull to lower the barriers which have long been impeding international commerce.....We wish Secretary Hull continued success in his program for reciprocal trade.

THE BUENOS AIRES CONFERENCE

The Central Conference of American Rabbis views with approval the achievements of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires in December, 1936.....We especially commend the proposed treaties providing for: consultation between the nations of North and South America should war be threatened; the creation of committees for the study of conditions and for averting situations which might lead to war; mediation and conciliation; the lowering of trade barriers; equality of commercial treatment; and the exchange of professors, students, publications, films, and art exhibits. Also we hail with satisfaction those further resolutions and recommendations which strengthen the existing peace machinery and improve intellectual, cultural, and economic relationships among the American republics.

We express the hope that similar Conferences be hald and similar treaties for the maintenance of peace be enacted by various large groups of nations throughout the world, with the ultimate aim of convening a World Conference to establish treaties for the maintenance of universal peace.

PEACE COUNCILS

We urge the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to encourage in their respective communities, the organization of peace councils along the lines proposed by the National Peace Conference.

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NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
152 Madison Avenue
New York City

(Maurice A. Levy, D.D., Corresponding Secretary, 420 Elmira St., Williamsport, Penna)

Resolutions relating to War and Peace adopted at the meeting of the Northern Baptist Convention held in Philadelphia, May 20-25, 1937:

WORLD PEACE AND CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

WHEREAS, we believe that war is destructive of life's basic values and is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus; and

WHEREAS, we are definitely opposed to war and take a positive stand for peace; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we cooperate with all other Christian groups working for world peace. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, that we pledge ourselves to a serious study of the economic and other causes of war, and that we keep ourselves intelligently informed on all important legislation relating to the problems of world peace. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, that we work for a constitutional amendment providing that Congress shall no longer have the power to declare war involving the sending of our army on to foreign soil, or our navy into foreign waters until after such a declaration has been authorized by a vote of the American people taken in a national referendum for that specific purpose. Furthermore, be it

Resolved, that we work for the elimination of the private manufacture and traffic in munitions and arms.

CREATING WORLD BROTHERHOOD

WHEREAS, the New Testament teaches that God has made of one all the races of men that dwell on the face of the earth; therefore, be it

Resolved, that in the spirit of Jesus we shall study the customs, life and ideals of the members of other races, nationalities, and religions in order to better understand and properly evaluate them.

#

Div. for Study. War Time Comm.

From National Council for Prevention of War,
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
September 15, 1937

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FACTS AND FIGURES BEARING ON OUR "RIGHTS" IN THE FAR EAST

1. Total number of American citizens in China: 7,780.

2. Total number of citizens in the United States: 130,000,000.

3. Total value of American investments in China: $250,000,000.

4. Total value of American investments in Japan: $218,000,000.

5. Total value of American property in United States: $320,000,000,000

6. The International Settlement
   Total area: 8.3 square miles
   Total inhabitants: 1,160,000
   Total number of foreigners: 35,000
   Total number of Americans: 2,017

   (For some time it has been anticipated that China would take over the government of the International Settlement. Chiang Kai-Shek has stood for the abolition of foreign concessions.)

7. Marines permanently in China: 1,000
   Additional marines sent since outbreak of war: 1,200
   Total number of marines: 2,200 (greater than number of Americans in the International Settlement)

8. Number of U.S. naval vessels in the Asiatic station: 39.
   (One flagship and 4 destroyers now at Shanghai)

9. Public opinion on protection of Americans and their property in China:

   Gallup Poll, Sept. 5, 1937: 54% would remove troops from China. (Area of states where vote favored keeping troops there corresponded to area where munitions are manufactured)

   Seattle (Wash.) Star poll, Sept. 7, 1937: Readers were asked to vote for one of two courses in Asia,
   (1) "The United States should not risk war for the protection of its citizens and their property in China, but should remove military forces from zones of conflict and warn citizens that they remain in such zones at their own risk;"
   (2) "The United States should protect its citizens in China with military and naval forces and should act to discourage aggression and invasion in Asia.

(More)

PUBLIC OPINION AND NEUTRALITY

X- JX 1908
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PUBLIC POLLS

Gallup (American Institute of Public Opinion) Poll - October 10, 1937:

Question: "Which plan for keeping out of war do you have more faith in-having Congress pass stricter neutrality laws, or leaving the job up to the President?

Majority for stricter neutrality laws, ~~73%~~ 69%

	Stricter Laws	President's Discretion
New England States.....	72%	28%
Middle Atlantic States.....	68	32
East Central States.....	75	25
West Central States.....	67	33
Southern States.....	63	37
Rocky Mountain States.....	71	29
Pacific Coast States.....	72	28

Seattle Star Poll - September 7, 1937:

Choice of Positions:

"1. The United States should not risk war for the protection of its citizens and their property in China, but should remove military forces from zones of conflict and warn citizens that they remain at their own risk.

"2. The United States should protect its citizens in China with military and naval forces and should act to discourage aggression and invasion in Asia."

Vote stood over 44 to 1 in favor of the first position.

CONGRESSIONAL POLLS

New York Journal Telegraph Poll

Question: Should U.S. abide by its historical policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs? 77%, yes.

Question: Should the U.S. resort to force to enforce peace? 10 to 1 against.

Question: Can the U.S. best show its aversion to war by trying to repress warring nations, or by keeping entirely free from action? 91% favored keeping entirely free from entanglement.

Question: Should the U.S. participate in Nine-Power Treaty Conference? 68% against.

Question: Should the people be allowed to vote on the question of a foreign war? 3 to 1 in favor.

All answering did not express opinions on each question, but 92% answered at least three questions.

GIFT: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct 8, 1941

National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th St., N.W. DIstrict 8010

RELEASE FRIDAY PAPERS
NOVEMBER 5, 1937

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STATEMENT ON THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE
BY
NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN

The attitude on the Brussels Conference of the National Peace Council of Great Britain, representing 42 national organizations and 80 local peace councils throughout England, is reflected in the following statement issued by the Council and just received in this country which includes recommendations, on the basis of cessation of hostilities, that unequal treaties and privileged positions "by whomsoever held" in China be cancelled, and "practical consideration given Japan's economic needs":

"Recognizing that the issues raised by the present hostilities in the Far East are wider than the incidents which occasioned them, and involve the whole question of the intervention of foreign powers in China as well as the problem of international economic relations in the Far East and elsewhere, the Council considers that the Conference should have for its object the laying of the foundations of a new settlement in the Far East to replace the Nine-Power arrangements of 1922.

"In pursuance of this object, the Council urges that the members of the Conference, together with such other powers as may be affected by the issues involved, should:

"(1) use their fullest influence to secure an immediate cessation of hostilities - to be guaranteed by the provision of neutral observers;

"(2) simultaneously set in motion procedure for the preparation of a settlement, having as integral and inseparable parts,

(More)

Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 2, 1941

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., N.W. DIstrict 8010

RELEASE AFTER 7:30 P.M.
NOVEMBER 8, 1937

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In a nationwide broadcast on "Neutrality and Future Peace," Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, associate secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, declared the coming session of Congress would be as much a peace or war Congress as the one in 1917 called "to put its okay on the fact that this country was in a war that the people had voted in a Presidential election to keep out of.

"The coming session will have to decide whether that same old line of policy is to be okayed merely at an earlier stage or whether the neutrality law to prevent that policy being followed again is to be carried out. The reasons offered for not applying the law," Mrs. Boeckel declared, "belittle the common sense intelligence of the American people since the only policy of cooperation for peace with which the neutrality law would interfere is application of sanctions. It must be concluded," she said, "that the law has been set aside to leave the way open for sanctions."

Mrs. Boeckel cited a definition of war by the Supreme Court which, if followed, would clearly call for recognition of a state of war in China. The Supreme Court definition which she quoted is: "Every contention by force between two nations in external matters under the authority of their respective governments is not only war, but public war."

The present policy looking toward sanctions and policing the world, the speaker asserted, would mean a gigantic rearmament program of which she said there were already rumors in Washington. The economic effects of the rearmament program in England she described as follows: "They (the British people) are finding that because of their rearmament program normal business is deprived of materials or forced to pay high prices for them, that business loans to any but armament firms are hard to get, that therefore the cost of living is rising and the standard of living for the people being lowered."

Concluding with a discussion of the importance of the neutrality legislation as a measure designed to keep the war-making power in the hands of Congress "where the Constitution put it," and of the necessity for bringing about peaceful change

Life - Div. for Study. War Time Course

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WHAT THE PRESS SAYS ABOUT NEUTRALITY

(Printed in the Bulletin of the
National Council for Prevention of War,
September 1937)

The press is performing two distinct services in the Far Eastern crisis.

In the first place, it is bringing home the fact that there are only two possible alternative policies for the United States - neutrality or war. The State Department's effort to follow a line somewhere in between these two is recognized as not only getting us nowhere, but as increasing the danger of the final adoption of a war policy.

In the second place, it is demanding that the United States pursue an independent policy uninfluenced by the interests of European empires in Asia.

The Philadelphia Record demands a clear-cut policy. It says succinctly,

> "Let's fish or cut bait.
>
> "Let's make up our minds what we want to do in the Far East, and then do it....
>
> "If we want to keep out of trouble, then we ought to speed the evacuation of Americans from the Shanghai area and remove our armed forces.....
>
> "If we want to save China, for itself or for ourselves.... then let's join in a firm declaration with Great Britain and warn Tokio to keep hands off.
>
> "But this business of hesitating on the burning deck between the life-boat of neutrality and fighting the fire gets us nowhere...."

The Wall Street Journal believes:

> "Of two things, one should be done: either the President should proclaim a state of war existing between China and Japan, or the neutrality law should be repealed. The present situation is patently disingenuous and is susceptible of complete misunderstanding by the world."

The San Francisco Chronicle, citing our $100,000,000 loan to China and the fact that Japan by selling us gold has $130,000,000 deposited here to pay for war supplies, says significantly: "We aren't in - yet."

The national weekly, Labor, answering the pleas of certain editors that we "stop Japan," says:

> "The mere fact that 'stopping Japan' might cost tens of thousands of American lives and billions of American money doesn't disturb these gentlemen....The other day...one of our

Div. for Study. War Time Class

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NEUTRALITY OR WAR

IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Speech by Florence Brewer Boeckel, Associate Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War, at its annual meeting, Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C. October 6-8, 1937.

***

I read somewhere the other day of two new classes into which people can be divided - those who like to talk about what they think and those who like to talk about what they know. For the next thirty minutes, I should like to be allowed to belong to both classes and to talk first of all a little about what I think of the relation of the neutrality policy to the world situation and then a little of the facts of the present government attitude toward the neutrality law.

The situation has obviously been changed by the President's Chicago speech, but there is one way in which it has not been changed. Our policy up to date has been confusing. It is now as confused as ever. And we still do not know what is going to be done about neutrality. There are in the present situation, however, many elements running so parallel with those of the situation that led us into the calamity of the World War that there is ground for the fear of calamity to which the President referred. There is only one clearly new factor in which to place hope. You may not follow me when I say that that factor is the neutrality law but I want to try to say why I think so.

What were, when it was passed, and what are now the fundamental purposes of that law?

It was intended basicly to do two things: to embody in law a non-participation in war policy for this country, and it was intended to check executive efforts to exercise the war-making power and to keep that power where the Constitution put it, in the hands of Congress. Is there hope that these two purposes will be carried out and what is their importance as influences in the world situation? In his speech yesterday, President Roosevelt clearly implied that it is because the neutrality law is a non-participation in war policy that it is being set aside. The only reason he indicated for his refusal to obey a law enacted by an overwhelming majority in Congress was that the United States must be free to go to war if necessary to do what - "to uphold laws and principles on which peace alone can rest secure." On the necessity of upholding laws and principles on which peace can rest secure there is agreement, but with the idea that peace can rest secure on the laws and principles reflected in the present world situation provided they are upheld by force, there is not agreement. Is there any ground for believing that what you cannot get by one war you can get by two?

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

U.S. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

EFFECT OF NEUTRALITY LAW UPON PERMANENT WORLD PEACE

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The following statement from the London Statist bears out the contention of supporters of neutrality, who have maintained that a no-foreign-war policy on the part of this country would hasten consideration of changes in the status quo which must be made if there is to be permanent peace.

"It would be most realistic to take the speech of President Roosevelt at Chicago less as a promise, more as an expression of America's sympathy with all actual and intended victims of aggression, coupled with an attempt to educate Americans out of the 'frank isolationism' by warning them of the dangers ahead. The speech was moreover by way of a preparation for the launching of an increased armaments program, which will bring home in a forcible manner the fact that Americans are numbered among the 90 percent of the population of the world whose 'peace, freedom and security' are being 'jeopardized by the remaining 10 percent.' More to bring home to Americans their international responsibilities the President cannot do, just as, in welcoming the speech, democratic statements and the democratic press in Europe cannot do more.

"At the same time, any suggestion that the United States should take part in any boycotts or schemes of sanctions gives rise to a chorus of protest, which is the true measure of America's isolation. What are the causes of this persistent isolationism? First, the factors of sheer distance and of provincialism; second, the preoccupation with internal economic affairs; finally, America's dislike of the past peace settlement, with the conviction that Europe after the war, of which the victors learned nothing and the vanquished forgot nothing, brought her troubles on herself.

"The very nature of such sentiments suggests the means by which they may be changed. Self-preoccupation and distrust of European motives can be overcome only by a convincing expression among the peace-loving nations of a readiness to couple resolute opposition to aggression with frank discussion of means to settle grievances and disputes in a peaceful manner. The United States must be made to feel that her support, moral and material, would not be used to satisfy individual ends and to preserve any injustices that may exist in the status quo, rather than for the appeasement of Europe as a whole....."

--London Statist, October 16, 1937
pages 503-4.

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D. C.

U.S. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

Dis. for Study. War Trade Comm. Oct. 2, 1937

National Council for Prevention of War,
Washington, D. C.
February 24, 1937.

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ARGUMENTS FOR MANDATORY NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION

Answers to Objections

by

Florence Brewer Boeckel

A revision of the neutrality policy of the United States was undertaken in a desire to protect this country against recognized dangers of entanglement in foreign wars and in response to the urgent demand of the American people that war be abolished.

Proposals for legislation must be considered from the point of view of whether or not they further the demand of the American people -

1. To have war abolished;
2. To be protected against wars that may arise;
3. To keep the war-making power as closely as possible in the hands of the people (a desire clearly attested by various measures recently introduced in Congress, in response to popular demand, for war referendums, prohibition of conscription for foreign service, etc.).

The question also arises as to whether the cost of achieving these ends is greater than the American people will be willing to pay.

WILL MANDATORY NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION PREVENT WAR?

There is good reason to believe that it will,

In a situation such as exists in the world today, where one group feels itself oppressed by another, there are only two possible ways out. Either those more favorably placed will make concessions or those less favorably placed will wage war. Even the most powerful nations, if they cannot look to this country as a base of supplies, will be more hesitant to engage in conflict and the more ready to make concessions. That concessions will prevent war cannot be proved, but past experience has proved that the threat of overwhelming force will not prevent it. That policy, which is sought under discretionary neutrality legislation

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Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

WHAT SORT OF NEUTRALITY?

(Excerpt from The Christian Century, January 13, 1937)

********** It is evident that another struggle is about to open over the nature of the national neutrality policy. Mr. Roosevelt favors a law which will leave large discretionary powers in his own hands. An influential portion of Congress, without regard to party lines, favors legislation which shall make it mandatory, under specified conditions, for the government to take specified actions, all having as their end protection against the danger of war involvement. The present law is thus mandatory, though admittedly full of holes. Senator Vandenberg, together with most of the other members of the Nye committee which investigated the arms traffic, favors a stiffening of this law to do away with these holes. Mr. Roosevelt wants an entirely different kind of law - a blanket mandate to the White House and state department to "keep us out of war." These are the choices before Congress and the nation.

A first essential reminder with regard to this approaching conflict of opinion is that both sides seek the same end. Both want to keep the United States out of war. In respect of the aim involved, neither side's patriotism is in question; neither can claim any superiority of motive. Moreover, both sides admit that no legislation can automatically guarantee America's peace. Hypothetical cases can be outlined destructive of the hopes of either mandatory or discretionary legislation. The choice which Congress must make before the end of April will be only a choice among probabilities. What sort of neutrality law is likely to work with most effectiveness, admitting that no law can be relied on to work with complete satisfaction?

A second factor which must not be left out of account is that the demand for mandatory neutrality legislation rises directly out of the nation's 1914-17 experience. It is no accident that the men who are most insistent on a mandatory law are the members of the Senate committee who investigated what happened twenty years ago. Any reader of the fifth volume of Ray Stannard Baker's monumental biography of Woodrow Wilson knows that what went on during that period was a constant whittling away of a policy of economic as well as political neutrality which the executive, exercising its discretion, attempted to establish at the war's outbreak. The very fact that President Wilson was acting according to his discretion proved an embarrassment, for every new device to protect our rights or our neutrality proposed after the war started was interpreted by the side which it seemed to harm as an unfriendly and unneutral act. The demand for an inclusive, mandatory neutrality law rests on the belief that neutrality requires that all prospective belligerents shall know in advance exactly what American policies they must deal with in case they go to war.

A third fact which must be admitted from the beginning of debate is that mandatory legislation, if it is to be without loopholes, requires a break with past precedents regarding neutrality. "Neutral rights" must be restricted largely to the right to stay at home and get along here as well as we can until the insane outbreak is over. "Freedom of the seas" must be dismissed as the blood-letting illusion it is. Now, most navy men do not like to contemplate this, for it is only in the "protection" of such "neutral rights" that our present expenditures for a navy can be

protection, how may Japan send any troops across 7,000 miles of water. Then, assuming the absurdity that they arrived, how would they land on not a friendly, but hostile coast and how would they then get any transportation to move inland? Again, let us turn for another answer to F. E. Baume, Editor of the Sunday Sun, of Sydney, Australia, novelist and well-known Australian newspaperman, now in this country. Poking fun at us for entertaining popular bogeys, he says: "Too many people today are dedicated to the proposition that Japan is casting envious eyes at our Antipodean continent and your United States. If they kept their observations to China, they would be more logical. The Japanese, begun on the march of progress by you very Americans in the fifties of the last century, did what the Chinese could never do. They learned concentration. They learned to imitate. They perfected their machinery. They beat Russia in a war which concerned not Australia or America, but their own territorial aims within their own cabletow. There could be only one outcome, conquest, just as Mexico was conquered, just as India was conquered, just as you yourselves took California -- so that today, Japan becomes the Frankenstein monster of 1937 -- within her own limits, within the limits of the Oriental peoples."

That is an Australian writing. Must our citizens then go over to China, out of our sphere of influence or limits, so that our financial and commercial interests may continue their dominance there, but under the guise that we are making a second great moral gesture for humanity? Or perhaps it may have been that Mr. Roosevelt had no thought in his mind that the man in the street should go out and fight to preserve the policy he laid down last night -- but had in mind such things as a boycott or economic sanctions or some such economic retaliation. History has shown that such action leads to retaliation prompt and swift, in some form or another. Usually it leads to war anyhow in the end...

This is not to be taken as a defense of what Japan is doing in China. War at

Excerpts from radio broadcast by Boake Carter, Div. for Study, War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1940
Columbia Broadcasting System, October 6, 1937.

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"Roosevelt — Neutrality"

...Let us examine a few points, analyze them and note a few other points. What does Mr. Roosevelt mean, as most people in the world asked today, by concerted action, with the United States taking part? Does he mean that the United States citizens must again march to some foreign soil, not to avenge any attack or invasion, but for economic and commercial reasons, disguised appropriately as a great moral crusade? As Mr. Wilson said 21 years ago, the solution must bring a peace which would endure once and for all. For that official slogan the United States went to war, 21 years ago. A peace treaty was drawn up after that slaughter ended. Its terms, and their application produced economic, commercial and social collapse in the defeated nations. The decay produced the Frankensteins against which we now rail. The isms which have come since the world war were isms born born because of that war. We are now told that we must be an aggressor ourselves to destroy those isms before they come over here and destroy us.

Mr. Roosevelt referred by inference to Japan, Germany and Italy all at once. Does that mean we are to join in action against all three nations at once in two different parts of the world at once? Or was that a safe generalization because of its obvious impossibility of execution? The State Department tonight decided to go Mr. Roosevelt one better and boil it down to one nation — Japan. Is this to be taken then that if the newest crop of American youth doesn't go to China now and wallop Japan, Japan will soon attack us over here, as Mr. Roosevelt intimated?

Major General William C. Rivers, retired, has pointed out one answer to this emotionalism which forgets facts: In the World War, scraping all the ships together we could from all the Allies, under full protection of Allied fleets, we were able to send in our best month 300,000 troops from New York over 3,000 miles of water to Europe. When they got there, they landed on friendly soil and trans-

X- JX 1908
.U6 N5 117

From six organizations supporting neutrality:

National Council for Prevention of War
" 532 - 17th Street, N.W. DI 8010
World Peaceways
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Emergency Peace Campaign
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Committee on Militarism in Education

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
September 24, 1937

Washington -- The President was wired en route today, following the Maritime Commission's order of a bonus to sailors, by the pro-neutrality peace organizations as follows:

"A government agency is now offering bonuses to a few American sailors to enter war zones. It recognizes the possibility of internment of American vessels clearly admitting that a state of war exists. The order affects Spanish and Chinese seas. You applied the neutrality act in the Spanish war. The offer of a mere pittance of fifty dollars to a few sailors to risk their lives is a part of an effort to continue trade with the Far East which risks involving all Americans in war. When will the law passed by Congress to protect the country against war be invoked?"

(Signed)

National Council for Prevention of War
World Peaceways
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom
Emergency Peace Campaign
Committee on Militarism in Education
Fellowship of Reconciliation

##

From Gilbert Stinger
National Council for Prevention of War
552 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
August 17, 1937

RELEASE WEDNESDAY
PAPERS, AUGUST 18

X-JX 1908
.U6 N5 118

The National Council for Prevention of War today issued the following statement on neutrality and the Far Eastern war, demanding that Congress remain in session until definite action has been taken to protect this country against entanglement. The statement follows:

"Congress should not adjourn until every possible protection has been given the people of this country against becoming involved in the war in Asia.

"There are four things which should be done. The neutrality law should be applied. It should be amended to provide for control of the sale of war materials other than munitions. Measures before Congress calling for a peace-time embargo on arms should be passed. Steps should be taken to control the export of steel and iron scrap.

"The neutrality law was adopted because of the overwhelming demand of the American people that we keep out of foreign wars and stop encouraging war by supplying munitions to the belligerents. That demand is as strong today or stronger than when the neutrality law was passed. Administration delay in applying the law and failure of Congress to demand its application amount to a direct flouting of the will of the people. A policy adopted in advance and automatically applied, whatever its effect, can bring no charges of favoritism against this

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WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

The World's W.C.T.U. Convention in June, 1937, adopted the following peace resolution:

The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union declares its conviction that international friendship is the primary essential in the prevention of war and that this international friendship can be attained by creating goodwill based on Christian principles of justice and on political and economic cooperation to attain that justice. We believe that the scope of the League of Nations should be expanded to include expert studies of conditions contributory to war with a view to eliminating the causes of war.
We declare: for the sanctity of treaties, subject to their alteration where necessary by peaceful means, for the Briand-Kellogg Pact, for the settling of disputes by arbitration based on international law, for the collective responsibility of nations to prevent breaches of peace and disregard of treaty obligations. To attain this we urge; the personal responsibility of all citizens to learn the facts in regard to the economic interdependence of nations, and to assist in creating an informed public opinion on all proposed solutions of the problems of international peace, in order that governments may be supported or checked in political enterprises affecting the peace of the world. Such facts in simple form should be included in the curricula of all schools.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
1634 Eye Street
Washington, D.C.

The Legislative Program of the A.A.U.W., contained the following measures for 1937-1939:

International Relations--

Membership of the United States in the League of Nations on terms consistent with our commitments under the Pact of Paris, and membership of the United States in the World Court.

Treaties for the international reduction and limitation of land, air and naval armaments, either by a general convention or by separate treaties covering subjects ripe for action.

Federal control of the manufacture of and traffic in arms and munitions.

Opposition to any military or naval program of the United States based upon policies not in accord with the requirements of actual national defense.

Support of measures defining a new policy to govern the neutrality of the United States during periods of international armed conflict, the primary purpose of which should be to diminish the danger of our being involved in war, but which would leave open the possibility of cooperation in international efforts to suppress war by pacific methods.

Support of federal legislation which will make military training in secondary schools, colleges and universities elective and not compulsory.

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June, 1937.

PEACE RESOLUTIONS

OF

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 5, 1941

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

Branch Offices

68 Post Street,
San Francisco, Calif.

134 Chestnut Street,
Springfield, Mass.

612 Stock Exchange Bldg.,
Portland, Oregon.

411 Kraft Building,
Des Moines, Iowa.

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.U6N5
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HOW TO SAVE $23,500,000,000

By Philip Wagner
(From "The Evening Sun", Baltimore, September 1, 1937.)

A fun-loving friend remarked laughingly the other day that he supposed we'd all be getting into uniforms pretty soon and sailing for the Far East. This friend went through the last war, too, and loved it.

He was only expressing in his jocular way what a lot of people are thinking about less amusedly, namely, the possibility that we may become involved in the undeclared war now being fought by Japan and China. We are a peace-loving nation, as this friend would be the first to insist, and have only invaded foreign territory some sixty times in our history--that is, once every three years. Hence it goes without saying that the United States will strive to the utmost to avoid getting into a conflict which only remotely concerns it.

It goes without saying. Yet despite that devotion to peace which is responsible for the Kellogg Pact and which causes us to refrain from going into foreign countries any oftener than we have to, our naval policy is aimed straight at Japan. At any rate, its size is out of all proportion to our purely defensive needs and is clearly designed for "carrying the war into the enemy's camp."

High officers of the army and navy have admitted, when pressed, that in a continental sense the United States is practically invulnerable. In his recent book, "The Tragic Fallacy," Mauritz Hallgren has put together the available evidence on this point. Consider the problem of bringing an invading army to the United States for the purpose of conquering us. In its best month, the A. E. F. shipped 306,350 troops with the necessary supplies to Europe. To do this the United States had to use nearly every ship in sight; its transports had the protection of the combined Allied navies; and the ports of France and England were freely available; and the A. E. F. had the use of railroads, the good will and some supplies of the French when it got there. A country or combination of countries trying to invade the United States would have a more difficult time than this. Even a modest invading force of 300,000 men would require a fleet of 580 merchant vessels of average size, all traveling at the speed of the slowest. A still more modest invading party of 50,000 men would require 58 vessels to carry the men and the minimum food, ammunition and other supplies for at most ten weeks.

How would this unwieldy fleet get across the ocean to the shores of America in any sort of order? Even assuming that we had no naval vessels whatever to bother it with, how would the expedition land? Our admirals have admitted that we wouldn't need a single battleship to stop them from landing at any of our important harbors. Hallgren quotes the Naval Hearings of 1916: "The protection of the harbor itself," said one admiral, "should be sufficient by forts, mines and submarines without the aid of the fleet." Furthermore, coast defenses and mines without any submarines would prevent any fleet from bombarding" any of our principal cities.

But suppose that the enemy not only crossed the ocean but reached some remote and unfortified stretch of shore? You can't unload such an expedition overnight. And the army officials are equally positive that any such small landing force, in a strange land, could be polished off in short order by a relatively small American force.

From Gilbert Stinger
National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
Phone: DI 8010
September 11, 1937

RELEASE MONDAY PAPERS
SEPTEMBER 13

X JX 1908
.U6 N5 123

Washington -- Telegrams from senators and congressmen representing far western, middle western, southern and eastern states were received today by the six organizations campaigning for application of neutrality and withdrawal from the Far East. The telegrams emphasize the intent of Congress in passing the law that it should apply to all nations and not depend upon a declaration of war but go into effect when a state of war exists. The messages also urge the importance of stopping shipments of arms and adoption of a policy that Americans remaining in China do so at their own risk. The messages follow.

Senator Homer T. Bone (D., Washington): "The Sino-Japanese warfare now has reached so critical a stage that elemental standards of prudence call for the immediate evacuation of all Americans from the war zone.

"The right of our people to peace far outweighs the so-called 'rights' of certain American business interests trying to protect their investments in China.

"Do American mothers want their boys blown to bits and subjected to the tortures of hell to defend a few corporate enterprises that enrich none but their owners?

"That is exactly what a war with Japan would mean. To talk glibly of our 'rights,' which are not the 'rights' of the boys who would die, is to juggle very carelessly with forces that might easily liquidate our civilization.

"If the people of this nation are wise they will demand that we keep out of this new war and attend strictly to our own business."

Senator Bennett Champ Clark (D., Missouri): "I think there should be an invocation of the neutrality law in the United States and that the present situation illustrates the fact that it should of necessity be mandatory rather than discretionary."

Representative Herman P. Kopplemann (D., Conn.): "The very factors and conditions we feared and which led to the adoption of the neutrality act have come to pass. It is imperative that the neutrality act be applied without delay, including an embargo on materials of war. The sacrifice of whatever American interests lie in danger zones is far more desirable than provoking increasing danger that United States will be dragged into the conflict.

"This is the first crucial test of the neutrality law. The longer the delay, the greater will be the pressure for protection of

om Gilbert Stinger
National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
DI 8010
September 8, 1937

Div. for Study. War Trade Comm. Oct 9, 1941

RELEASE THURSDAY PAPERS

X-JX 1908
.U6N5 124

Support for the Roosevelt policy of requiring Americans to remain in China at their own risk was telegraphed to the President today (Wednesday) by the organized forces working for invocation of the neutrality law, and additional steps urged.

The telegram and list of organizations signing follow:

"The demand from American business interests in Shanghai for the protection of their property in the war area reflects the conflict between peace and profits predicted by you in your speech at Chautauqua. They call your order to evacuate the war area cowardly. We call it a common sense policy required if America is to keep out of foreign wars.

"It is not cowardly to protect the interests of the whole nation rather than the interests of a few citizens. It is not cowardly to refuse to endanger your whole constructive program by risking a war.

"Treaties should be observed, but to attempt in the present world situation to enforce old treaties when no indication has been given of willingness to revise them in terms of present conditions and international justice is to risk more important rights, You as well as we know that democracy itself will be lost if we go to war, since conduct of a modern war requires dictatorial control and renunciation of basic democratic liberties.

"We appeal to you to keep the national welfare first and to follow up your policy of requiring Americans who stay in the danger zone to do so at their own risk by

"1 - Withdrawing our naval and military forces before another Lusitania or Maine is sunk.

"2 - Invoking the neutrality law which will break the hypocritical practice of waging undeclared wars and assert the independence of our policy in relation to imperialistic interests of European nations alike in Asia

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From: National Council for Prevention of War,
532 Seventeenth St. N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Telephone DIstrict 8010
September 4, 1937

FOR RELEASE IN MONDAY PAPERS
SEPTEMBER 6, 1937.

A public appeal to the country to "act now before it is too late" was issued today by the six peace organizations united in a neutrality campaign. The statement sent out through regional, state and branch offices by wire and mail reads:

"Events in the Far East are paralleling the events that led up to our entrance into the World War. The next few days are critical. Though the President is on a cruise and a public holiday occurs the people must make their demand for neutrality known to him at once.

"The business interests which will profit from war shipments are pushing the boats out. Foreign propagandists are at work. The old inflammatory war-guilt charges are heard. 'Incidents' are occurring daily.

"The people must beware, keep their heads, think for themselves, and get their demand that he carry out the neutrality law to the President. We believe that failure now to apply the law amounts to nullification."

Along with their demand for immediate application of neutrality, the six organizations are promoting a constructive policy designed to protect China and promote peace in the Far East at the next session of Congress. They recommend the following program:

Abandonment of all demands encroaching upon Chinese sovereignty, such as presence of our soldiers and marines on Chinese soil; abandonment of the claim to a special international settlement and any extra-territorial rights which we hold in conjunction with other nations; repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act, putting all nations on the quota basis and thus admitting 100 Chinese and 185 Japanese a year; arrangements to aid the Chinese Government in financing economic recovery after the war is over.

The organizations issuing the appeal were:

World Peaceways, National Council for Prevention of War, Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Emergency Peace Campaign, and the Committee of Militarism in Education.

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PUBLIC OPINION AND NEUTRALITY

PUBLIC POLLS

Gallup (American Institute of Public Opinion) Poll - October 10, 1937:

Question: "Which plan for keeping out of war do you have more faith in-having Congress pass stricter neutrality laws, or leaving the job up to the President?

Majority for stricter neutrality laws, ~~73%~~ 69%

	Stricter Laws	President's Discretion
New England States.....	72%	28%
Middle Atlantic States.....	68	32
East Central States.....	75	25
West Central States.....	67	33
Southern States.....	63	37
Rocky Mountain States.....	71	29
Pacific Coast States.....	72	28

Seattle Star Poll - September 7, 1937:

Choice of Positions:

"1. The United States should not risk war for the protection of its citizens and their property in China, but should remove military forces from zones of conflict and warn citizens that they remain at their own risk.

"2. The United States should protect its citizens in China with military and naval forces and should act to discourage aggression and invasion in Asia."

Vote stood over 44 to 1 in favor of the first position.

CONGRESSIONAL POLLS

New York Journal Telegraph Poll

Question: Should U.S. abide by its historical policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs? 77%, yes.

Question: Should the U.S. resort to force to enforce peace? 10 to 1 against.

Question: Can the U.S. best show its aversion to war by trying to repress warring nations, or by keeping entirely free from action? 91% favored keeping entirely free from entanglement.

Question: Should the U.S. participate in Nine-Power Treaty Conference? 68% against.

Question: Should the people be allowed to vote on the question of a foreign war? 3 to 1 in favor.

All answering did not express opinions on each question, but 92% answered at least three questions.

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.U6 N5 127

Dis. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 2, '38

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Dear Mr. President:

The fabric of peace on the continent of Europe, if not throughout the rest of the world, is in immediate danger. The consequences of its rupture are incalculable. The lives of millions of men, women and children in every country involved will most certainly be lost under circumstances of unspeakable horror.

The economic system of every country involved is certain to be shattered. The social structure of every country involved may well be completely wrecked.

The United States has no political entanglements. It is caught in no mesh of hatred. Elements of all Europe have formed its civilization.

The supreme desire of the American people is to live in peace. But in the event of a general war, they face the fact that no nation can escape some measure of the consequences of such a world catastrophe.

The traditional policy of the United States has been the furtherance of the settlement of international disputes by pacific means. It is my conviction that all people under the threat of war today pray that peace may be made before, rather than after, war.

Whatever may be the differences in the controversies at issue and however difficult of pacific settlement they may be, I am persuaded that there is no problem so difficult or so pressing for solution that it cannot be justly solved by the resort to reason rather than by the resort to force.

And force produces no solution for the future good of humanity.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Washington, D. C.
September 26, 1938

Extract from President Franklin D. Roosevelt's appeal to President Benes and Reichsfuehrer Hitler at 3 A. M., September 26, 1938, pleading for negotiation of their difficulties and reminding them that "force is no solution." Ask your newspaper editor to publish it with application to today. A better peace can be made now than after a 3-year war. Work for "PEACE NOW."

Send for additional copies to the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

X-JX 1908
.U6N5 128

CHRISTMAS - 1939

No matter what the errors or the sins or the suffering of mankind, Christmas comes each year with new hope, new promise, new opportunity for peace. The greater the havoc of war, the more must those who hold this Christmas faith center their thoughts on peace and direct their efforts to bringing it about.

Christmas celebrations this year should insist upon peace now. It is the only right, and it's the only realistic program for the world.

Christmas celebrations should do everything possible to increase trust in the teachings of Christ. No one disputes the need of changing the world and of bringing persecutions and aggressions to an end. The question is how these things are to be accomplished. Heretofore, other methods than those advocated by the Teacher whom we honor at Christmas have been tried and have failed. The problem now is to secure a trial for the methods which He advocated.

All those who desire peace and are working for it should seize the moment when the world is imbued with the Christmas spirit to press for an extension of this spirit to world relationships and world affairs. Every individual can contribute

National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Cir: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, JR.

X- JX 1908
.U6N5 129

OVER A NATION-WIDE RADIO BROADCAST, OCTOBER 4, 1939

SUPPORT THE ARMS EMBARGO

"If we take sides through action by our government to make arms available to England and France the pressure will be terrific to get us into war.

"If we want to stay out of war in Europe, we must not take steps that will take us into war. We either make up our minds to stay out of this war or by a series of steps we will ultimately find ourselves in it. If we repeal the arms embargo after a war has started, it will be regarded abroad as an official act of our government to take sides in this war.

"Speakers over the radio have been leading the people to believe that the Congress and the country must choose between repeal of the arms embargo and cash and carry. This is not the case. Cash and carry is not an alternative to repeal of the arms embargo. If we are determined to keep out of the war we can have cash and carry for all other commodities, (restricting this war trade) and also maintain the arms embargo. But without the arms embargo cash and carry is a very feeble safeguard against our involvement in war.

"Not only will repeal of the arms embargo be an unneutral act, but it will also result in a tremendous expansion of our munitions industry. The present plant capacity of this industry is back-logged with orders from our own national defense program. If we sell arms to Britain and France, it must be either at the cost of our rearmament program or hundreds of millions of dollars must be invested immediately in new plant capacity. This, in turn, will provide great inducements for the repeal of the Johnson Act once the purchasers are out of cash. Then loans will be floated and we will find ourselves right where we were in 1916 and 1917.

"Democracy would be war's first casualty, for war is democracy's greatest enemy. Labor would be virtually conscripted, collective bargaining abrogated, farmers would have their prices fixed, business would be regimented, the press and radio would be censored and men from 21 to 45 drafted to fight overseas.

"Our patriotic course is clear. We should keep the embargo on arms, limit the trade in other commodities to a strict cash and carry basis, not credit and carry, restricting this trade so as to protect our resource base and not permit an uncontrolled wartime commerce to develop which will help to drag us into war in Europe or Asia. We should concentrate on making democracy work at home and thus maintain our civil liberties. We have a great opportunity to build up an inter-continental economy in this hemisphere. We do not have to accept as the solution of our problems the employment resulting from trade produced by slaughter and destruction."

THE DECISION IN CONGRESS DEPENDS ON WHICH PROGRAM THE PEOPLE CHOOSE

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National Council for Prevention of War
532 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Gift: Div. for Study. War Tide Comm. Oct. 3, 1941

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
OBERLIN COLLEGE
Oberlin, Ohio

January 11, 1939

Office of the Dean

Mr. Frederick J. Libby
Executive Secretary
National Council for Prevention of War
532 17th Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Libby:

I want your judgment on an idea which has appealed to me. In my work for peace, I have been puzzled to see how the great constructive forces of life can be dramatized in any such way as are the forces of war. I have often wondered why we assume that the "might and dignity" of the United States is best represented to our citizens and to other peoples by our armed forces. I think this year affords us, as a people, an opportunity to make an effective demonstration of those values which sustain our people.

In June, the king and queen of Great Britain are to be guests of this country. In ordinary course, their reception will be mainly military--military salutes, military attendants, military parades, naval demonstrations. Consequently the news reels will carry to the four corners of the earth the impression of military America, and those of us in the United States who will be privileged to be in Washington will see a reception replete with military features. How much better it would be were we to show their majesties, and through them the rest of the world, the real strength of America. Why should we not organize representative groups engaged in the constructive processes of our common life and put them in review before our royal guests? It would be an impressive and soundly educative matter for our own citizens to witness a review of farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, artisans, miners, millers, steel workers, students, nurses, teachers and other professional men and women, accompanied by well-designed floats dramatizing our skilled production methods and distinctive American standards of life and culture. The army, navy, marine corps, and air force would naturally have a place in such a review, but they would be accompanied by policemen, firemen, coast guardsmen, and representatives of our magnificent civil aviation.

As far as I know, no country has ever received the royal representatives of another great country in this particular fashion. In the present state of the world's nerves, it might be well for the United States to set a precedent.

Is the idea feasible? If it is, how can we bring to it the help of those who have the power to make it effective?

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) T. W. Graham

T. W. Graham, Dean

TWG:CH

[illegible] Study. War Time Council [illegible]

National Council for Prevention of War
532 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Gift: Dir. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

October 12, 1939

WORKERS DIRECTIONS NO. 2

Administration strategy has created a false dilemma between the arms embargo and cash-and-carry on other materials. We need both. Note also that the speeches of Senators Burke of Nebraska, White of Maine, and others on the Administration side have stripped the mask from the claim that the Pittman Bill is meant to strengthen our neutrality. It is intentionally un-neutral, being designed to help Great Britain and France. The British and French youth are to do the dying while American munition makers reap profits—"fools' gold."

1. Write your protest to your newspaper. Be emphatic. The Pittman Bill is a bid for the "blood money" to be made out of Europe's disaster. Arouse your community to a realization of the moral infamy of this proposal.

2. Write your protest to your Senators and now to your Congressman. If you have written before, write again.

3. Get your friends to write. Renewed activity is necessary now.

4. October 22 is being observed by the churches throughout the country as Peace-Makers' Sunday. Leaders in all denominations feel that the Church of God must not be silent in this crisis. Spiritual values are at stake. Find out which ministers in your community plan to observe Peace-Makers' Sunday and tell your local newspapers about it. It is news for them as well as for the community. See that the sermons are reported Monday.

5. Have you asked the President to get the neutrals together to end this war now by mediation? A three-year war will only multiply the dictatorships. If the western nations destroy one another, Russia will be left dominant in two continents. Ask the President again if a better peace cannot be made now than after a long war.

6. Collect the petitions that you and your friends have been circulating. Complete filling them if possible, or paste several together and send them now to one of your Senators as directed.

7. Form an impromptu Speakers Bureau. The St. Louis committee wrote to 500 leading citizens asking if they would speak in favor of holding the arms embargo and neutral mediation, and 150 replied, Yes. You never know till you try. Mimeograph your list and supply it to your clubs, churches, and other organizations.

The Senate debate is expected to last until nearly the end of October. But get in your letters at once. The House will then take action. The country is overwhelmingly in favor of staying out of Europe's war. But whatever the outcome may be now, a long campaign of education is ahead of us to guard against later steps towards war. Prepare to stay in this fight until the danger is over and a lasting peace is assured.

Frederick J. Libby

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National Council for Prevention of War
532 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 6, 1939

TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

If you sincerely believe that this country must keep out of war at all costs, you must write both your Senators and your Congressman at once asking them to resist by all means all efforts to repeal the embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act. Powerful interests are now seeking repeal of the embargo provisions.

The embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act are America's greatest assurance against becoming involved in Europe's slaughter. Repeal of provisions forbidding export of arms, ammunition and implements of war would mean this country's intervention in the European conflict. This country cannot go half-way into that conflict by becoming an arsenal for Europe's armies without being forced later into that conflict as a combatant.

Senator David I. Walsh, Democrat of Massachusetts, has stated the case in a forceful speech, copy of which is enclosed. Read Senator Walsh's convincing speech. Consider his patriotic, non-partisan contentions. Pass it along to a friend to read.

Entirely aside from these merits of the embargo provisions, the embargo in the Neutrality Law today is a symbol of America's determination to stay out of war. If the embargo provisions are repealed now, the next step will be the repeal of the Johnson Act forbidding the warring countries to borrow money in this country. Already those tempted by the profits of war — "fool's gold" — are talking about the need for repealing both the embargo provisions and the Johnson Act. If that happens, the United States will be in the war, as it was in 1917.

Defeat of proposals to change the embargo law at the present special session of Congress will mean that this nation has renewed its determination to stay out of war. Victory for those proposals would mean that the first steps had been taken down the road to war, just as in 1914-'17.

Be not mistaken or misled by specious pleas! The issue now is to keep America out of war!

Write your Senators and Congressman at once urging them to join the peace bloc inSenate and House that is resisting efforts to repeal the embargo act and take this country into war. If you have written them, write them again. Write letters to your newspapers declaring we must maintain the embargo provisions and keep out of war. Ask all your friends to write to Senators and Congressmen and to their newspapers insisting that the embargo provisions must be maintained to keep the country out of war.

Do not delay! Write now! Tomorrow may be too late.

Congress has been called in special session and unless America wakes up, the fatal step of repealing the embargo provisions may be taken!

Frederick J. Libby.

X-JX 1908
U6N5 133

SOME STATEMENTS FROM FARM LEADERS IN SUPPORT OF THE WAR REFERENDUM.

"Believing that our Senators and Representatives will welcome the opinion of one who has spent his entire life among farm people, I am sending this brief expression of what I believe the majority of our farm people would say, were they to take time to write their opinions in regard to allowing them the privilege of voting on the question of going to war in a foreign country.

"My duties as Lecturer of Illinois State Grange bring me in direct contact with many rural people and I find a great majority believe they should be allowed a voice in this matter.

"Rural people place the blame for our present financial condition on our last war. War prices caused inflated farm land prices and so many of our farmers bought under those false conditions and today are struggling along trying to meet interest and taxes from farm product prices far below pre-war time. So many of our rural people say, 'If only the money spent on the last war had been loaned to our American people to purchase homes with at the same rate of interest that it was loaned to our foreign neighbors, we believe conditions would be entirely different today.'

"I believe in protection, yet I think if we could play square with our foreign neighbors, it would do far more to promote peace in our land than all the money spent for guns and ammunition." (March 31, 1939)

-- Mr. Roy E. Moss, Lecturer,
Illinois State Grange.

* * *

"The recommendation made to our state convention by our Board of Directors was: 'We are opposed to any military move which would take our boys off American soil. American citizens who insist upon living in foreign countries or investing under foreign governments should look to such governments rather than the United States for protection.'

"I believe I express the sentiment of the very large majority of our membership (if not all of them) when I say we believe the citizenry of the United States should have the privilege to vote on whether or not this country would enter a war on foreign soil (with perhaps the exception of Mexico). In case of possible invasion of the United States, then the matter of a referendum would of course be ill-advised. (March 31, 1939)

-- Pauline Cowger, Secretary,
Kansas Farmers Union.

* * *

"I think you are correct in asking for an amendment to our Constitution requiring a vote of our people before we engage in a war on foreign land. This is the sane way for a Democracy to do. If the people cannot be trusted in this, can they be trusted to vote on any major question? In the multiplicity of thought there is safety. Those who do the fighting should be those who decide when to fight. If the people had the right to declare war, it would not be one of the rich but one by the people." (April, 1939)

-- J. A. Boak, Past Master,
Pennsylvania State Grange.

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 2, 1941

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR
532 - 17 Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

October 19, 1939

MEMORANDUM ON EMBARGO CAMPAIGN TO DATE

Our contribution to the campaign to hold the arms embargo while we press for neutral mediation may be divided into four sections:

1. Cooperation with the churches. We are cooperating with leaders in fourteen Protestant denominations who have asked 80,000 Protestant ministers to observe next Sunday, October 22, as "Peace-Makers' Sunday." The governors of all the states have been asked to issue statements supporting this effort to prevent the European war from dragging on in frightfulness to a "bitter end." Several of the ministers who wrote the letters approach the arms embargo as a prohibition on America's making "blood money" out of Europe's disaster. They urge that our Government make a constructive contribution to the setting up of a Neutral Mediation Commission, to work unceasingly until the best peace that is possible now has been negotiated.

2. Educational campaign among labor organizations. Labor is divided on the repeal of the arms embargo, but united against our involvement in the European war. The American Federation of Labor at its Cincinnati convention adopted a resolution in favor of strict neutrality which contained the following important sentence: "Already policies are being advocated which, on the surface, seem to be neutral and fully justified, but which, if approved, would lead our nation to take those first steps which, when taken, would of necessity lead to others which in turn would so commit our national policy as to irresistibly and irretrievably force us into the war."

On this platform an effective campaign against repeal of the arms embargo can be waged. Without going now into the details of the campaign, ten able workers are now employed in different sections of the country, clarifying the issue from the standpoint of labor, pointing out the menace to labor of the War Department's mobilization plans and distributing literature written from the labor standpoint.

3. Educational campaign among farm organizations. Our third campaign is designed to clarify the issue similarly from the farmers' point of view. Our great Middle West is vigorously opposed to our involvement in this war. Our task is to show why our nation cannot go half-way into war and stop. We need also to remind them of their experience during and following the World War from the standpoint of war profits and subsequent liquidation. Moreover, they instinctively approach the problem of war from the moral standpoint and want no "blood money," no profiteering, and no war. Realization that our Government can, if it will, wield decisive influence to prevent a three-year war from developing in Europe will lead to powerful pressure on President Roosevelt from the farmers, as well as from other groups, to exert this influence. By October 25 we expect that there will be not less than 250 farmers, young and old, scattered through 25 states touring their counties in

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WHAT TO DO NOW

The American Congress has abandoned its own policy and adopted the President's program of selling arms to belligerents. Only England and France can obtain arms from us.

From now on it will be harder

1. To keep the United States out of war;

2. To get a peace settlement that will be lasting.

Can we do it?--YES--HOW?

By constantly increased pressure from the people on the government

1. To keep out;

2. To demand that Europe stop the war and settle now before it is reduced to chaos and controlled by passions of victory and defeat.

How can the people bring pressure?

1. By seeing Congressmen and Senators repeatedly while they are at home between the special and the regular sessions of Congress;

2. By repeated letters to the President;

3. By protesting to the President every statement of any government official tending to create a war scare;

4. By keeping up a steady barrage of letters to the press;

5. By protesting to local headquarters every movie program that creates a war spirit;

6. By protesting every radio program that creates a war spirit;

7. By enlisting the active, constant support of every possible minister and editor;

8. By making every individual citizen, particularly those who have urged the present policy, feel an individual responsibility to prevent war.

What are the dangers that sale of arms will create?

1. Pressure for extension of credits and loans.
   The Administration defeated an amendment to prevent loans through the RFC and Export-Import Bank.

2. Regulations that amount to unequal treatment of the armed vessels of the two belligerents.

3. Unequal treatment of England and Germany in regard to seizure of our ships, which under the present law can carry goods to European neutrals.

4. With our aid assured, England may feel herself able to refuse any concessions either to her own people, such as extension of democratic government to India, or to European nations which, unless economic readjustments are made, will continue under any governments to disturb the peace of Europe.

Only the people themselves can protect the country against the dangers that

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SURVEY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, APRIL 22, 1940

By Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary

A. Military Situation in Europe. The Executive Secretary pointed out on the map the present military situation in Europe, using the confidential information that has been made available to him by authoritative government sources. Hitler's occupation of Denmark and Norway has been a severe blow to the Allied cause, although the ultimate outcome is not yet certain. The Germans have acquired submarine and air bases in southern Norway directly opposite the chief British bases in Scapa Flow and the Orkney Islands, and less than three hundred miles distant. The Germans, who have a 2-1 superiority in the air over the Allies, will be in position to bomb the British coast and British shipping almost at will, and will be very hard to dislodge. Because this was such a defeat to the Allies, our newspapers have been filled with various rumors of Allied victories ever since the occupation, circulated largely from Stockholm with a view to tiding over a bad period until real victories can be reported.

There has been danger particularly in the resulting attitude of the doubtful neutrals. Mussolini has mobilized a large army and may choose this time to seize from Yugoslavia the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea or even to take the Suez Canal, which he is believed to covet. In any case his open sympathy for Hitler will make it dangerous for the Allies to try to cut off Hitler's oil supply in the eastern Mediterranean, lest their own line of communications is cut off by Italy. The Turkish Government has ordered Turkish newspapers to cease all anti-Nazi propaganda, which is a significant step. Rumania has signed an important trade treaty with Germany, which is also a recognition of Germany's victory in the war. Russia, which has been wooed again by Great Britain for a trade treaty which would diminish Germany's supplies from Russia, is likely to be more strongly favorable to the German cause.

Thus the net result of Germany's seizure of Norway and Denmark is likely to reduce still further the Allied chance of a decisive victory, which our military experts five weeks ago put at one chance in five. At the same time, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that this does not mean that Hitler is likely to win a decisive victory, either. Our military experts say that a military stalemate is still the probable outcome of the war in Europe.

B. Military Situation in the Far East. The possibility of our involvement in a war against Japan continues, although it is not probable as long as the war in Europe lasts. The Japanese have no present intention of engaging us in war, since they are more than fully occupied now. Besides, they always are threatened by Russia if they weaken themselves by extending their war lines too widely. It is from our own policy of pressure on Japan that the war danger arises.

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 4, 1941

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Radio Script

MOTHER'S DAY PROGRAM FOR PEACE

Estimated Time: 13 Minutes

Introduction

ANNOUNCER: Today is Mother's Day. It finds the Nation in the midst of a great crisis turning on the issue of America's further participation in the European war. Many outstanding Americans feel that this time the United States should stay out of the war. The final decision on this question may be the most important one that our country has ever made. On it may rest the entire future of our conception of the American way of life.

Station W O L brings you today the representative viewpoints of five Madison mothers. The first of them is Mrs. Fred Davis, mother of 2 sons:

MRS. FRED DAVIS: I am the mother of two sons. One of them is 25, the other 22. I'll get flowers from them on Mother's Day, or candy, or maybe just a card - something anyway to show that they are thinking of me. Tears may cloud my eyes as I think back on the time when they crawled around my parlor on their hands and knees. But then I'll smile with the satisfaction that I have given the world the finest men I could.

I wonder sometimes what the world will give the two men I have given it. I pray it will be happiness, security, love, good work to do, a family. I would like to see a world wherein all these are in the reach of all young men.

But today I am filled with fear. Terrible wars are raging in Europe and Asia. Suppose the United States goes into these wars!

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But today I am filled with fear. Terrible wars are raging in Europe and Asia. Suppose the United States goes into these wars!

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

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FOR YOUR INFORMATION

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR

1945 - 1951

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, FREDERICK J. LIBBY

November 1951

The year 1951 has seen marked progress in the two fields in which the National Council for Prevention of War has specialized since the end of hostilities in 1945: (1) Laying a foundation for a durable peace with Germany based on justice and goodwill; and (2) the achievement of Universal Disarmament, as the only foundation on which world peace can be built.

I. German Problems

Morgenthauism and Germany

When our late colleague, Albion P. Beverage, launched our fight for a more nearly adequate allocation of food for Germany in December, 1945, the spirit of Morgenthauism was in control of our policies toward Germany. Roosevelt and Churchill, at their Quebec Conference in September, 1943, had agreed provisionally that Germany should be pastoralized. The industries of the Ruhr were to be destroyed. The coal mines were to be flooded. This could mean only that the population would be reduced by starvation by at least one-third. The folly and wickedness of such barbarism, when the program became known, occasioned a sharp reaction, both in the United States and in Britain, in opposition; yet its spirit persisted and still persists to a considerable degree.

President Truman's attitude towards the allocation of our limited food supply was, as he told his callers, "We are going to feed our friends first."

Increased Allotment of Food

In December, 1945, Mr. Beverage attacked this problem by circulating, in cooperation with other like-minded persons, a petition among senators urging that a larger share of the world's food should be allowed the German people. Thirty-four senators signed the petition within a week and it was sent to the President, who took no action on it.

Early in January, a committee of four senators went to the President and asked what he was going to do about it. They reported that he made his stock reply: "We are going to feed our friends first." But the President sent Herbert Hoover to explore conditions in Germany and, following his report, Germany's quota of food was increased.

Individual Food Parcels Authorized

The next important move was in April, 1946, when Mr. Beverage drafted an amendment to the Trading With the Enemy Act, which would legalize the shipment by individuals to individuals or groups in the defeated countries of food and relief parcels. Senators Eastland and Bridges sponsored the Amendment and, with the aid of other influential Senators, steered it quickly through both Houses after a hearing had been held. This important measure gave new strength and new courage to the peoples of Germany and Japan.

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AMERICA'S MID-PACIFIC GIBRALTAR

By E. Guy Talbott

Regional Director, National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.

Hawaii is not only America's "Paradise of the Pacific"; it is also our "Mid-Pacific Gibraltar." The largest naval base under the American flag is at Pearl Harbor, near Honolulu; and the largest army post is at Schofield Barracks on the Island of Oahu, twenty-five miles from Honolulu.

There are approximately 30,000 army and navy men permanently stationed in Hawaii. During the summer of 1936 the United States fleet was in Hawaiian waters for a month of maneuvers. Honolulu was thronged with sailors and soldiers. Every month the army and navy spend from $2,000,000 to $5,000,000 in Honolulu.

It is to be expected, therefore, that Hawaii would be "military minded." There is a strong "Aloha" for the army and navy on the part of the people of Hawwaii. However, this writer, who spent six weeks there during July and August, found less jingoism than exists on the United States mainland.

There are two reasons for this absence of jingoism in Hawaii: first, the officers of the army and navy stationed in Hawaii appear to take the position that their job is not to promote war but to preserve peace; second, there is no Hearst in the newspaper field in Hawaii. The two newspapers in Honolulu, the Advertiser and the Star-Bulletin, are remarkably free from rancorous editorials. Their policies seem to be the promoting of peaceful relations in the Pacific.

However, there are a few organizations and many individuals of a jingoistic nature in Hawaii. They might be called "serpents in Paradise." In fact, that is how they manifestly are viewed by the people as a whole.

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

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TO-DAY and TO-MORROW

By Walter Lippmann

AN EXAMPLE OF INTOLERANCE

Last week there was on sale in the United States a prize specimen of the difficulties with which statesmen have to contend when they seek to bring some kind of order out of chaos. It was an article called "The Rescue of Germany." It was written by Mr. Garet Garrett. It was printed in "The Saturday Evening Post" for September 26.

Mr. Garrett's contribution to the sanity of nations is an elaborate innuendo that Germany has brought herself to the verge of bankruptcy in order to escape paying reparations. Mr. Garrett was careful never to state the idea as bluntly as I have stated it, but that is the impression he, nevertheless, meant to convey. "Nobody could imagine," he said, for example, in speaking of those who have invested money in Germany, "that the Germans would attack their own credit and really mean it, or that a second act of national bankruptcy was possible. It was a little like the warning on the sinking of the Lusitania. There it was, cold and authentic, and nobody believed it."

No more serious charge could be made against a nation in time of peace: for if the German people have deliberately enticed money into their country with the intention of attacking it in order to coerce their creditors, they are guilty of one of the most gigantic conspiracies in history. If Mr. Garrett's insinuation is well founded, the reconstruction of Europe on a foundation of good faith is impossible. If one of the great nations of the world is a fraudulent bankrupt, all plans for making peace, restoring credit and dealing with the world's problems by common action are absurd.

* * *

I happened to be in Berlin during the week following the announcement of the Hoover moratorium, and I had the opportunity then to talk with many of the principal figures in the German government and in German finance. They would all have had to take part in Mr. Garrett's conspiracy if there had been one. They included the Chancellor, the Foreign Secretary, the Finance Minister, the President of the Reichsbank, and the heads of several of the largest banks. That they were happy and grateful at Mr. Hoover's intervention goes without saying, but to my unsuspicious eye those infinitely tired men looked less like successful conspirators than like doomed men who had suddenly been reprieved when all hope seemed lost. I do not think a whole governing class can counterfeit the look of desperate anxiety and of profound physical and nervous exhaustion which was stamped on their faces. I cannot believe that those men had just engineered a daring coup, and were secretly chuckling at their smartness in fooling mankind.

* * *

I should not, however, ask Mr. Garrett to accept such a personal impression as conclusive. What I should like to ask him is why, at a time when all kinds of debtors in all parts of the world are unable to pay, he singles out the Germans and implies that their bankruptcy is fraudulent? I could understand his being very suspicious if the Germans had gone bankrupt in a time of great prosperity. That would, indeed, be suspicious. But at a time when scores of other governments are in default, when almost every bank has frozen credits, at a time when foreclosures have reached enormous proportions, at a time when England cannot pay her commercial indebtedness in gold, why does Mr. Garrett make it appear that the Germans are playing a deep and devious game?

If this article had been written by some one less well-trained in economics than he is, I should set down the article as a mixture of ignorance and prejudice. For what Mr. Garrett relies upon to support his charge is the fact that between

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HAVE WE IN OUR THINKING OF HISTORY SUFFICIENTLY GRASPED THE PRINCIPLE OF PROGRESS?

(From "The Study and Teaching of International Relations" by F. S. Marvin)

I want you to picture for a moment the two extremes known to us of human evolution on the planet. For I take it that history is the story of man's development--nothing less than that. At the one end we have the figure now revealed to us by archaeology and anthropology of the lonely savage fighting for bare existence in his cave or in his jungle, knowing nothing of the rest of the world, not able to count beyond the fingers of one hand, fighting a desperate fight against the forces of Nature and other savage beings--fighting, though he knew it not, that we might follow after him and live a fuller life. You have that at the one end of the evolution. At the other you have the world society in which we are now living, full as we know of faults, full of materialism, divided by jealousy, often liable to reaction and pessimism, and yet a world society conscious of itself all around the globe, with powers immensely increased over Nature, and I would say, though full of faults, full of goodness, and full of hope. Now history is nothing less than tracing the stages that have led mankind from the one extremity to the other--from that state of misery and bare existence to our state of comparative ease and power and hope.. . . .

. . .Without the aid of anthropology we could not have anything like a complete panorama. With it we may advance from the earliest savage remains to that first stage in the process of unifying the world which took place in the civilisations that grew up in the great river basins and enclosed sea areas, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Cretan Archipelago.. . . . They are our typical examples of great ordered communities, bound together by religion, by a sense of loyalty to their chiefs, and with enough leisure to begin observations of the laws of Nature; above all, of the phenomena of the heavens. You cannot omit the early work, either of the Egyptians or of the Babylonians--geometry, astronomy, or writing; for the sake of writing alone it must take a high place in the story of the unification of mankind.

* * * * * * * *

The next stage is that in which the Greeks, the sceptical, the inquiring, the mobile Greeks, broke into that fixed order and began to build a new one on the basis of reason. The work of the Greeks should be looked at primarily from the point of view of their foundation on science. In the second place, from their first ideal conception of art, and in the third place, from their efforts, which the Romans afterwards carried to fuller fruit, to found city states, and to build up an orderly civilisation all round the Mediterranean. Now, to those who have studied at all adequately either Greece or Rome, those things are a matter of commonplace. But if you take the ordinary text-books on the subject, even by such a master as Professor Bury, you will find that no space is given to the first two aspects of their work, which are really the most important, and attention is concentrated on the third, or political aspect, in which they showed to least advantage. That is a truly marvellous and inexplicable point of view, except from the exploded idea that history is only political history. It is not only political history. It is political history, plus all other forms of human activities which build up the social life.

The Romans, who completed and enforced the work of Greece, form the next stage. You hear, and quite rightly, that they incorporated by force, and by their marvellous social solidarity, the Mediterranean world. They used Greek ideas as well as their own right arm to civilise the world, but very little is ever taught in elementary books of the greatest contribution of the Romans--that of founding the most impressive body of law in the world, and very little is ever said of the most successful, the most perfect example of Roman rule, the

Gift: Div. for Study. War Dept. Comm. Oct. 8, 1941

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WASHINGTON: ONE PARTICULAR PLACE

By Mildred Ann Kay
State Leader of Montana Farmers Union Juniors

* * *

Note: During their trip to Washington, D. C. Mrs. Kay and the State Junior Leaders of North Dakota, South Dakota and Wisconsin, together with five of their Juniors, visited Arlington National Cemetery. This visit inspired the following article, in which Mrs. Kay pictures this vast burial ground of America's military dead and stirs us with her emontional reactions.

* * *

There's a long, long bridge that spans the broad Potomac, called the Arlington Bridge, which leads the sight-seeing crowds to the Old Lee Mansion and the -- Arlington Cemetery. We followed over that bridge, detoured because of some repairs, wound round and up a hill and through "alleys and alleys" of graves.

Picture, if you can, one of the most sublimely beautiful spots in America. (If you can call it that) -- Quietness, security, calmness, and the "peace that passeth all understanding." All of that and more one could feel as he moved slowly along reviewing the Arlington Cemetery. To those of you who are used to one, five, ten or even fifteen acres segregated from their fellows to be designated as cemeteries, this great space of hills and valleys covered with stones would be too huge and vast to comprehend its magnitude.

And so it was with me, here was the home -- the last resting place -- of those who so gallantly gave their lives that you would not perish from this earth! Brother and brother, father and son , they all slept peacefully on that beautiful hill which our nation has set aside for their soldier citizens who gave their lives in so-called "defense of their country."

A monument of the unknown dead marks the common resting place of 2,111 unidentified soldiers who died on the battlefields of the Civil War. Not just those alone, but marked stones show that 16,000 more are lying there, whose records are in the War Department of our Government. Here also, lie those who fought and died in the Spanish and Philippine Wars, those who fought in other lands; Indies, Pacific Islands, France and other foreign lands; all, are brought home to rest on the fertile breast that gave them birth and life and -- death.

We walked slowly up a hill to where a tall granite statuary stood, topped by the mast from the ship, Maine, and her anchor lying close by; we read that this monument had been erected in honor of those who had lost their lives in that tragedy of the seas and who had found the Havana Harbor to be their last resting place -- a watery grave for thos "who loved the land."

Oh, the quietness, the peace! If only I could commence to instill into your hearts the fallacy of it all -- beauty and peace for those war-wrecked bodies, now, when it is too late. Slowly, we passed into that grand edifice erected in honor and memory of the Unknown Dead -- The Memorial Ampitheater. Its open colonnades were shadowed by the magnificent trees that surrounded it. The sun played and danced through the leaves and boughs, the wind gently performed its part and so -- ever and ever we saw light and shadow, sweeping slowly across the marble of

National council for prevention of war
Washington, D. C.
Pamphlet

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JUST WHAT IS THE PEACE MOVEMENT?

WHY AND HOW?

by

Jacob H. Taylor
Secretary, National Rural Life Council

Amid all the confusion with which we are surrounded, we can well afford to take a moment for a measure of values. The turmoil and distress gripping humanity everywhere prey upon our minds as well as strain our ability and resources. Naturally, this clouds our thinking and in many instances may divert our interest and action from the issue of surmounting importance. We may make the grave mistake of relegating the Peace Movement and program to a secondary position. To the extent that we do, we shall suffer in the future.

What Is the Peace Movement? When Successful, What Will Be the Effect?

The Peace Movement is an effort to establish a system of orderliness in which people can go about their ordinary pursuits, in their neighborhood, through their country and over the world under the safeguard of law and order and with the necessary practical legal machinery to settle disputes of either individual or national concern when or where they arise without resorting to the ruthlessness of armed-power.

Not a Theory But a Workable Plan

Peace is not an idle dream nor is it an impractical theory. It is sensible, practical and workable. Each day that we live and go about our duties, we have this forcibly demonstrated. Millions of our citizens go about their daily tasks unhampered, unmolested, unafraid. Occasionally disputes or controversies arise. In due process of law these problems are settled. Literally millions of our citizens go through life without knowing what the inside of a court looks like, but for those who get into controversies, the machinery is set up and functioning to deal with their problems.

Under such a system, society, which is nothing more nor less than people living together, exists and thrives. Please bear in mind that this is a state of PEACE. It is what opponents say cannot exist. Yet we see it, live under it, and are a part of it in everyday life.

When Interruptions Occur

It is only when this system has been iterrupted by substituting martial power that a lack of order prevails. After every interruption, there follows a period of readjustment which strains our power and resources to regain quiet and order.

What Has Been Done Within Nations Can and Has Been Done Between Nations

We have demonstrated the ability of millions of our people to live under an orderly regime, resorting to courts of adjudication at times when controversies have failed to reach satisfactory settlement by arbitration and compromise. Under

©2[illegible] Rev. Jacob H. Taylor, Nat. Rural Council, Nov. 1, 1948

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NEUTRALITY AND THE CONSTITUTION

Under the Constitution Congress alone has the power to declare war.

When the Constitution was written the power "to declare war" equalled the power to decide between war and peace.

Today, control of policies which mean whether the economic support of this country shall or shall not be thrown to one side in a war equals the power to decide between war and peace.

The Supreme Court has ruled: "He (the President) has no power to initiate or declare war." - Prize Cases - 2 Black, 635, 668, 17 L.Ed. 459,477.

"By the Constitution it is solemnly announced that to Congress is given the power 'to declare war.' This allotment of power was made only after much consideration and in obedience to those popular rights consecrated by the American Revolution. In England and in all other monarchies at the time, this power was the exclusive prerogative of the Crown, so that war was justly called the last reason of kings. The framers of our Constitution naturally refused to vest this kingly prerogative in the President.....The One-Man Power was set aside and this kingly prerogative placed under the safeguard of the people, as represented in that highest form of national life, an Act of Congress. No other provision in the Constitution is more distinctive or more worthy of veneration. I do not go too far when I call it an essential element of Republican institutions, happily discovered by our fathers." - Senator Sumner of Massachusetts.

Today, only in dictatorships is the war-making power in the hands of one man. It is the fundamental power on which dictatorships rest.

The Constitutional grant of the war-making power was taken seriously by early presidents, as shown by the action of one of the most independent of the early executives, President Jackson.

In connection with the recognition of Texas, President Jackson referred the question to Congress as one "probably leading to war" and therefore a proper subject for "a previous understanding with that body by whom war can alone be declared and by whom all the provisions for sustaining its perils must be furnished."

Again, when difficulties threatened war with Spain, President Jackson hurried instructions to our ministers to discuss the matter with the Spanish Government, in order that "before its adjournment" the matter might be laid before Congress. (The Far Eastern situation became critical just before the adjournment of Congress in August, 1937.)

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

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NEUTRALITY AND FUTURE PEACE

Radio Address

By

Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, Education Director of the
National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.,
over the Mutual Broadcasting System
Monday, November 8, 1937, at 7:15 p.m. (EST)

Ladies and gentlemen of Mutual's Radio Audience:

There is only one thing on the Washington horizon at the moment -- that is the special session of Congress which meets a week from today. Those of us who have lived here for as long as twenty years are remembering very vividly another special session which was called to meet in 1917 to put its okay on the fact that this country was in a war that the people had voted in a Presidential election to keep out of.

The coming session will be just as much a peace or war Congress for it will have to decide whether it will okay merely at an earlier stage this time the same old line of policy that led to war in 1917, or whether it will see to it that the neutrality law, passed by Congress to prevent that policy's being followed again, is to be carried out.

The country has been told very little about what our present Far Eastern policy actually is. But one thing it can see for itself. It is a policy with which the neutrality law would interfere. The Administration would hardly have gone to the length of nullifying a law of Congress unless it wished to follow a policy that it could not follow if the law were in effect.

When Congress passed the neutrality law, the Administration attempted to have it so worded that the President would be able to enforce embargoes against one side only in a conflict, in other words to join in sanctions in another war to end war -- and three times Congress refused to give the President that power. From all this, only one conclusion can be drawn and that is that the law has been set aside in order to leave the way open for

Gift; Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

MAKERS OF THE FLAG

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Adapted by Mabelle Chappell Anderson
from a speech by Franklin K. Lane
(Revised - C. A. Hemple)

THE FLAG: Good morning, Mr. Flagmaker!

GOVERNMENT CLERK (entering right, as if going to work; stops as Flag speaks, as if surprised to be thus addressed) I beg your pardon, Old Glory, aren't you making a mistake? I am not the President of the United States, nor a member of Congress, nor even a general in the army. I am only a government clerk.

THE FLAG:

I greet you again, Mr. Flagmaker! You are the man who worked in the swelter of yesterday, straightening out the tangle of that farmer's homestead in Idaho. I give you greeting, Mr. Flagmaker!

(The Clerk crosses to left, and then pauses to watch the flag and the passersby the rest of whom continue their way down the street, returning to listen to the Flag's closing speech.)

THE FLAG: Good morning, little Flagmaker!

SCHOOL BOY: Dear Flag, are you speaking to me?

THE FLAG: I am, indeed, speaking to you. Yesterday the President did many great things in his office as a maker of the flag, and you, by the things you are doing, are also making the flag as well.

SCHOOL BOY: What things? I am afraid I don't understand.

THE FLAG: Are you not saving your nickles, denying yourself at times and practicing thrift?

SCHOOL BOY: Yes, I work, doing all sorts of errands and things. Besides, I am learning to care for my clothes and books.

THE FLAG: Then you are making the flag, just as your brother did when he was fighting overseas, and the lawmakers who sit in the halls of Congress.

SCHOOL BOY: My! but I'm glad I help!

THE FLAG: Mrs. Flagmaker, good morning!

LAUNDRESS: Why, good morning, your Honor, if you are speaking to me! I'm the laundress up the avenue.

THE FLAG: Of course, I am speaking to you. You are making the flag. Do you not work from dawn till dark to give your son an education?

LAUNDRESS: I'd do more than that for my son, your Honor!

(A pompous individual passes along the street, wearing a silk hat, yellow gloves, spats, and carrying gold-headed cane. He should be fat)

Off. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

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THE FLAG OF PEACE

Men long have fought for their flying flags,
  They have died those flags to save;
Their long staves rest on the shattered breast,
  They are planted deep in the grave.
Now the world's new flag is streaming wide,
  Far-flying wide and high.
It shall cover the earth from side to side
  As the rainbow rings the sky.

The flag of the day when men shall stand
  For service, not for fight;
When every race, in every land,
  Shall join for the world's delight;
When all our flags shall blend in one,
  And all our wars shall cease,
'Neath the new flag, the true flag,
  The rainbow flag of peace.

On a field of white that bow above
  Shall arch the world across,
And all the colors that we love
  Glow there without a loss
Orange and green in union new,
  Proud gold and violet fair,
With world-beloved red, white and blue
  Shall shine together there.

Green from the earth that holds us one,
  All blue of sky and sea,
And the golden hue of that great sun,
  In whose light our life must be,
Red for the blood of brotherhood,
  White for the soul's release,--
The new flag! The true flag!
  The rainbow flag of peace!

--Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

From "Labor" by permission.

THE COLORS OF THE FLAG

First I see your purest white
Bathed in the early morning light,
Emblem of peace, and truth, and love
Waving your message beyond - above.

Then I can see some fairy sprite
Taking the red from the sunshine bright
And a bit of heaven's choicest blue,
And let the stars come shining through.

And thus they make you fair to see;
Thus will you ever be to me.
I love your red, I love your blue,
But to your white, O make me true.

-- Agnes Just Reid.

Gift: Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 2, 1941

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QUOTATIONS FROM EARLY PATRIOTS

George Washington:

See attached leaflet, "What Washington Wanted."

Thomas Jefferson:

"I do not believe war the most certain means of enforcing principles. Those peaceable coercions which are in the power of every nation, if undertaken in concert and in time of peace, are more likely to produce the desired effect.

"War is not the best engine for us to resort to. Nature has given us one in our commerce which, if properly managed, will be a better instrument for obliging the interested nations of Europe to treat us with justice.

"I love peace, and am anxious that we should give the world still another useful lesson, by showing them other modes of punishing injuries than by war, which is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer.

"I abhor war and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind.

"Peace has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved to the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it..... However, therefore, we may have been reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit. And this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government, and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under their care, in pursuit of a fantastic honor, unallied to virtue or happiness."

--Extract from letter to Thos. Pinckney in 1797.

Benjamin Franklin:

"I hope that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats..... What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility! What an extension of agriculture, even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable or joined by canals, what bridges, aqueducts, new roads, and other public works, edifices and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might have been obtained by spending those millions in doing good which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief, in bringing misery into thousands of families, and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labor!

"When will mankind ..... agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other..... Even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences.

Nov. 8, 1941

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Gift: Div. for Stacks, Wed Nov 26 1941

THE BONE BILL TO TAKE THE PROFIT OUT OF WAR

Purpose of Bill - To tax the profits out of war by steeply graduated income and other taxes in order to provide for effective national defense, to promote peace, to encourage actual neutrality, to discourage war profiteering, to distribute the burdens of war, to keep democracy alive, and for other purposes.

The following fifty Senators joined in introducing the above bill which is now before the Senate Committee on Finance: Mr. Bone of Washington, Mr. Clark of Missouri, Mr. Vandenberg of Michigan, Mr. Barbour of New Jersey, Mr. George of Georgia, Mr. Andrews of Florida, Mr. Ashurst of Arizona, Mr. Bilbo of Mississippi, Mr. Brown of Michigan, Mr. Bulow of South Dakota, Mr. Capper of Kansas, Mr. Chavez of New Mexico, Mr. Clark of Idaho, Mr. Donahey of Ohio, Mr. Frazier of North Dakota, Mr. Gibson of Vermont, Mr. Gillette of Iowa, Mr. Hill of Alabama, Mr. Holman of Oregon, Mr. Holt of West Virginia, Mr. Hughes of Delaware, Mr. Johnson of Colorado, Mr. LaFollette of Wisconsin, Mr. Lee of Oklahoma, Mr. Lundeen of Minnesota, Mr. McCarran of Nevada, Mr. Maloney of Connecticut, Mr. Murray of Montana, Mr. Neely of West Virginia, Mr. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Mr. Pepper of Florida, Mr. Reed of Kansas, Mr. Reynolds of North Carolina, Mr. Russell of Georgia, Mr. Schwartz of Wyoming, Mr. Schoeteed of Minnesota, Mr. Smathers of New Jersey, Mr. Stewart of Tennessee, Mr. Thomas of Oklahoma, Mr. Tobey of New Hampshire, Mr. Truman of Missouri, Mr. Van Nuys of Indiana, Mr. Wagner of New York, Mr. Wheeler of Montana and Mr. Wiley of Wisconsin, Mr. Gurney of South Dakota, Mr. Hatch of New Mexico, Mr. Herring of Iowa.

Unlike earlier bills known as bills to take the profit out of war, this measure does not include the war department's mobilization plan for universal draft and government control of industries and does provide a detailed tax schedule calculated to remove all hope of war profiteering.

As to individuals, according to Senator Bone, there would be a normal tax of 6% on all incomes above a personal exemption of $500, plus $500 for a spouse, plus $100 for each dependent, together with steeply graded surtax rates ranging from 10% up to 93% on net incomes in excess of $20,000. The following figures indicate the steeply graded surtax:

Tax	On
6%	Incomes above $1,000
10%	$3,000 to $5,000
30%	$5,000 to $6,500
50%	$6,500 to $8,000
71%	$8,000 to $20,000
93%	Above $20,000

As stated by Senator Bone, corporations would be taxed 15% on net incomes not in excess of 2% of the declared value of corporations, 25% on net incomes not in excess of 6% of such value and 100% of net incomes in excess thereof.

The Bone Bill has the support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

According to Senator Bone, the above bill which would go into effect as soon as Congress declared a state of war to exist would make it possible to "pay for the war as we go." Senator Bone also made it clear that the purpose of the Act was to remove the incentive of war profit and thereby aid in preventing war.

National Council for Prevention of War
532 - 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Mr. George T. Davis, in the latest book on the Navy recognized as authoritative, entitled "A Navy Second to None" (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940) condemns further naval authorization and by implication the Vinson Naval Expansion Bill. Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, on March 10, says of this chapter that "it should be read by every American." "Differ as we may in detail with some of Mr. Davis's opinions, there can, in this reviewer's mind, be no essential quarrel with most of his major contentions, disagreeable though those contentions may be to our Navy and to the extreme 'Big Navy' advocates." Mr. Davis says:

> "The United States occupies the most impregnable position in the world. The lessons of recent wars have added to the advantages of our defensive position. The American people live in the safest country on the face of the earth. By what nation or nations and by what means could this country be assailed? No potential rival could contemplate an attack upon us without realizing the most unfavorable pressure on the home defenses. It is important that Americans realize this situation and free themselves from the hobgoblin phantasies which have so often figured in our debates on naval policy. Any attack on the Panama Canal would have to come from far-distant points, would possess no advance bases, and would be subject to constant danger of being outflanked. This would be equally true for any possible menace against South America. For the defense of America, this country does not need an armada capable of winning a war in the western Pacific. Neither does it need an armada in its own waters equal to the fleets of all potential rivals on the assumption that they might join in an alliance or that such an alliance, even if organized, would be directed against the Western Hemisphere.
>
> "The author does not urge a role of narrow isolation, but rather a policy of self-limitation in the face of portentous events until this country has achieved clarity in regard to its role in world affairs. On the records of the past, it is only common sense to assess British policy with a sharp eye, and the blunders of present British and French statesmen do not inspire confidence in their wisdom or leadership. It is even conceivable that such titanic forces are today sweeping across other continents that even our efforts may not be strong enough to check them until they have burned themselves out. It is not yet possible to gauge accurately whether several great regional empires will emerge, some new league system or systems, or perhaps a long period of world anarchy.
>
> "...This country still has the power to influence profoundly the course of world events by setting its house in order and demonstrating that there is an alternative to authoritarian dictatorship, that it is possible to provide a reasonable living standard for all by the application of science and thought to the problems of social organization. Pouring social wealth into prodigious machines of war will not do this.

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THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL
FOR
PREVENTION OF WAR

This Presentation Is A Copy Of One

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A PROGRAM SUGGESTED FOR A PUBLIC MEETING

Song . . . . . America the Beautiful

Opening speech - See enclosed suggestions

Pageant or recitation

Short speeches or readings, or recitation by children in turn of quotations from the founders of the country.

Song . . . . . The New Star Spangled Banner

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AMERICA, THE BEAUTIFUL
(Tune-"Materna")

Katherine Lee Bates — Samuel A. Ward

O beau-ti -ful for spacious skies, For amber-waves of grain,
O beau-ti -ful for pilgrim feet Whose stern impassion'd stress
O beau-ti -ful for he-roes prov'd In lib - er-at -ing strife,
O beau-ti -ful for pa-triot dream That sees beyond the years

f

For pur-ple mountain maj -es -ties A - bove the fruit-ed plain.
A thoroughfare for free-dom best A - cross the wil-der - ness.
Who more than self their country loved, And mer - cy more than life.
Thine al -a - bas-ter cit-ies gleam Un - dimmed by hu-man tears.

A - mer- i - ca! A - mer - i -ca! God shed His grace on thee,
A - mer- i - ca! A - mer - i -ca! God mend thine ev'ry flaw,
A - mer- i - ca! A - mer - i -ca! May God thy gold re - fine
A - mer- i - ca! A - mer - i -ca! God shed His grace on thee,

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THE NEW

STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

A day will come when a cannon will be exhibited in museums, just as instruments of torture are now, and the people will be astonished that such a thing could have been.
--Victor Hugo.

Oh say will you hope for the dawn of the day
When the War-lust has fled from the hearts of a Nation?
And no more will men rush to the perilous fray,
But with Peace all unite in a world-federation.
Then no rockets of war nor bombs bursting afar,
Will we hail the bright beams of Humanity's star.
And the Star-Spangled Banner of Peace will yet wave
O'er the Lands cursed with war that we still hope to save.

How the dreamers have dreamed of a Peace-loving Age
When the sword and the spear into farm-tools were turning;
And the fire-sparks of HOPE in the Prophet and Sage
Were forever aglow, and in hearts still are burning.
Why the embattled hosts? Why should legions be lost;
And your victories won at a terrible cost?
Yea, the Star-Spangled Banner of Peace will yet wave
When your sons will not fill the dead warrior's grave.

See you Heroes of Peace, now unmoved they will stand,
And forever protest 'gainst a war's desolation;
'Tis the Souls of your Men, not the Guns of your Land,
That, at last, make the might and the strength of a Nation.
Friends of Peace that we are, not the victors of war,
REASON ever will win what the world's fighting for.
Oh! it must be the flags of the world will yet wave
O'er the Heroes of Peace who are truly the brave.
--B. Franklin Hunter.

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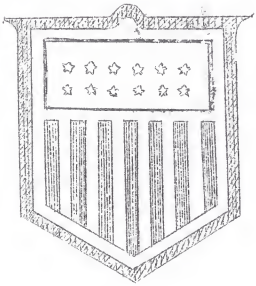
PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY



National Council for Prevention of War,
Education Department,
Florence Brewer Boeckel, Director
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Branch Offices

68 Post St., Room 224,

613 Stock Exchange Bldg.,
Portland, Oregon

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SUGGESTIONS FOR THE OPENING ADDRESS

OR FOR THE GENERAL THEME OF FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

I. World Peace An American Ideal and Objective

July fourth is the natural occasion for the expression of pride in America and for a renewal of the spirit and ideals which inspired the men who founded it.

That the founders of this nation anticipated and hoped that it would be an instrument for freeing the world from war is evident not only in their words but in their actions. America's responsibility for peace is increased by the fact that this country is in itself an experiment in peace and has blazed the way in developing the machinery of federated government. Our flag stands as a symbol of a union of states, which as Franklin said, had "many differences to reconcile."

In the Kellogg Pact, for which American statesmen were largely responsible, peace has been definitely advanced if not completely realized. In loyalty to America's effort and America's peace ideals her citizens must now bend their energies toward war's final abolition.

(See: "The Effort of the United States to Bring about World Peace,"
"The Paris Peace Pact: What It Means," and attached quotations.)

II. Times Have Changed: the World Today is Interdependent

The following editorial from the New York Times of July 4, 1927, offers a second topic:

"Are and of right ought to be free and independent' was written one hundred and fifty-one years ago. It was the preamble and the peroration of an announcement that the United Colonies were absolved from allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connection between them and Great Britain ought to be dissolved... To infer from this a lack of responsibility to the rest of the world, a refusal to adhere to a society of nations to promote the peace of mankind, or the assumption of political, social or economic self-sufficiency, would be to misinterpret this historic utterance.....

"With the raising of the standards of living the wants of man cannot be satisfied locally. As he ascends to a higher range of existence, whether in mere creature comforts or in intellectual commerce, the wider does the horizon of his needs become and the more insistently do they call for the removal of artificial barriers. Freedom the world around urges not only respect for

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ARE YOU PROMOTING MURDER IN THE NURSERY?

(Excerpts from the Christian Science Monitor)

Has not the time come to stop encouraging children to play at murder? Murder is not a game. And yet the sale of toy machine guns, toy revolvers, cap pistols, double-barrel popguns and other instruments of playground murder goes on uninterrupted and almost unprotested in the United States. Some of these toys look so much like real weapons that they have been used successfully in staging actual holdups.

Most alarming is the complacency with which many parents, teachers and other citizens appear to view the increasing use of toy firearms by children. It may be amusing to see small children pointing toy revolvers at their parents and others, with commands to "stick 'em up." It may seem perfectly harmless and innocent - but it is not! It is murder-in-the-making!

Parents and teachers must wake up! They are asleep. While they quietly slumber, manufacturers are getting these weapons into the hands of thousands of children. It is making mock gangsters of the nation's children. They may continue to act as real gangsters when they are old enough. As a nation, we become indignant at munitions manufacturers and would halt the shipment of armaments to warring nations in other parts of the world. Let us also become indignant at the shipment of toy armaments to the children of the nation! Let our arms embargoes begin at home!

#

Additional copies may be secured from the

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A PRAYER FOR PEACE

A Prayer for Peace Offered Recently by Helen Keller

"In these days when war-drums sound throughout the world, let us pray that the God of light and harmony may open our eyes blinded by strife and our ears to the song of peace on earth, good-will to men. O Lord, in whose countenance is the morning of all things made new, shine upon us that we may illumine with peace the world-home Thou has given us.

"Remove from us pride of might and arrogance of possession. Stretch our thoughts that we may see the whole earth as our country and the inhabitants thereof as our neighbors.

"Fill our hearts with love that changeth discord to trust. Temper to our good the weariness and the broken hopes we cannot escape. Pour into us the strength of all valiant spirits, put into our hands constructive tasks of peace; let not our striving end with condemnation and folly and stupidity in high places. Quicken in us the will to resist the hysteria that they who take the sword raise to turn us aside from Thy commandments.

"Give us power to the depth, breadth and height of our souls to prevent the destructions we have lived to weep. Out of the embers of fires that have scorched and blackened Thy kingdom on earth, help us create a new order in which men shall no more become savages through fear. Unite us millions strong against the darkness of hate, as unnumbered sunbeams streaming one way sweeten the sod into green ecstasy and fruitfulness."

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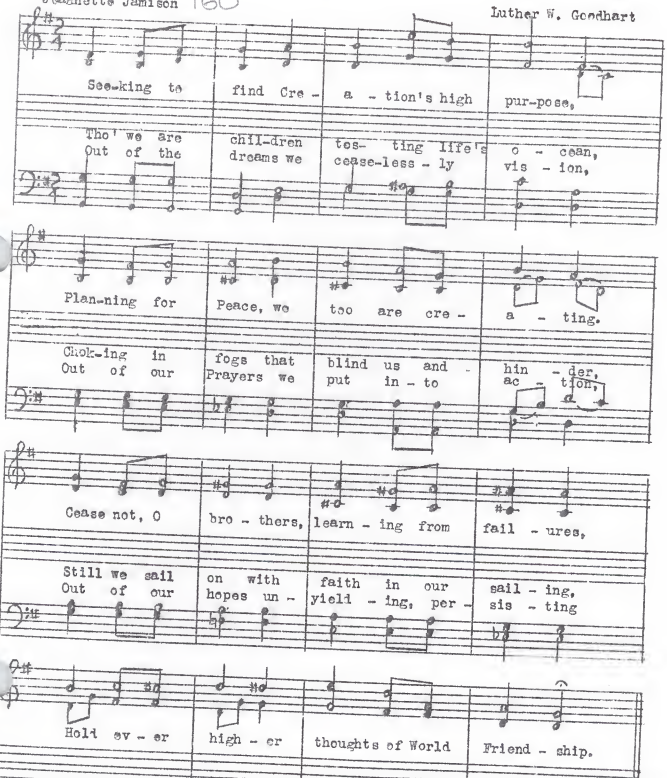
HYMN OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE

160

Jeannette Jamison

Luther W. Goodhart



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THE MESSAGE OF THE SHEPHERDS

(From the Pilgrim Elementary
Teacher, December, 1934.)

Adown the silent night
  The glittering starlight falls—
Come shepherds in their fright,
  To the crude oxen stalls.
See Mary, and her Babe
  In the cold manger laid.
Hear the great chorus thrill:
  "Peace and Good will—Good will."
Lord, let it never be still,
  "Peace and Good will—Good will."

—Adelma Carver Anderson.

Additional copies may be secured from
National Council for Prevention of War
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

X-IX 1908

CHRISTMAS CARDS

*

The following verses, by Aline Chester White Irvine, have been very attractively printed in color, each one on a folded white card, and may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War (532-17th St., Washington, D.C.) at 15¢ each.

*

*

World Peace

"Peace upon earth" down thru the centuries ringing,
The song of that first Christmas wends its way,
Thru age-long strife its benediction giving,
Beckons men onward to a warless day.

"Peace upon earth" again the light is breaking,
The song of Christmas bids all chaos cease,
It binds men in one universal purpose
Nearer the time when all the world cries "Peace"!

A Star of Hope

Long years ago a message came to earth;
It changed a world, and gave mankind new birth.
As centuries pass, dark clouds obscure the Star
That brought Wise Men to worship from afar.

Today we pray that other men as wise
May see the Sign and to its greatness rise.
Humanity still waits for those who heed
The call to service in its hour of need.

O Star of Hope, arise! break through earth's night

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PLAYS AND PAGEANTS APPROPRIATE FOR CHRISTMAS

(Unless otherwise indicated the plays and pageants listed below may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.)

For Children

AROUND THE WORLD WITH SANTA CLAUS, Boeckel, 10¢

Chars: 1 adult, 2 children with speaking parts; 2 other adults and 7 children are also required. A fourth adult may be used to advantage and as many other children may take part as desired. Incidental music.
Time: 45 to 60 minutes.
Theme: An American boy and girl persuade Santa Claus to take them with him on his trip around the world. As they come to each country a scene shows a typical Christmas celebration.

CHILDREN'S LEAGUE, THE, by Elizabeth R. Gawn, 5¢

Chars: 5 boys; 3 girls; children from other lands.
Time: 30 minutes
Theme: Roused by seeing a moving picture of "All Quiet on the Western Front," two boys ask the fairy, Christmas Spirit, to let the children of the world form a "league for peace." Children from many foreign countries appear to them and pledge allegiance to the Spirit of Christmas and peace.

CHRISTMAS EVE, written by the low sixth grade of the Capitol View School, Atlanta, Georgia, NCPW, 5¢

Theme: The many foreign sources of our present day Christmas customs.

CHRISTMAS EVERYWHERE, Nickel. Women's Missionary Society, Muhlenberg Building, Philadelphia, 10¢

Chars: 50
Time: 30 minutes
Theme: Telling the story of Christmas to children of the Orient.

PERFECT RING, THE, Howells. Volume 1, Goodwill books; also mimeographed, 5¢

Chars: 22 Children, 2 older boys and girls, 1 adult.
Time: 45 to 60 minutes
Theme: The Christmas tree will light only in response to the gift of the perfect ring; children of many nations bring their gifts, but only when the spirit of Christmas leads them to join hands and form a perfect ring about the tree does it burst into light.

SANTA CLAUS DISARMS, Marion Wathen Fox, Harcourt, Kent County, New Brunswick, Canada. 6 copies for 50¢

Chars: 8, at least 1 girl.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR THEME OF CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION

1940

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CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

BY

ELEANOR PINKHAM

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR,
532-17TH ST., WASHINGTON, D.C.

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CHRISTMAS CARDS

Folder Cards with Cover Design

in Green and White

Christmas Greetings in Red

Any One of the Verses

Printed on the Inside Pages

Matching Envelopes

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Branch Offices

68 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.
612 Stock Exchange Building, Portland, Ore.
134 Chestnut Street, Springfield, Mass.

... Plan Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

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LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS

By Fanny Dean Brook

THE Christmas season comes again,
It brings both joy and tears.
Of "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men"
We've sung for many years;
"When will fulfillment come?" we cry,
"When will the promise from the sky
Come true?" Our hearts now make reply
"Lay down your arms."

Sometimes our Christmas spirits droop
As oft we tell the tale,
How Christ was born in Bethlehem
That Love might now avail;
The angels sang, "Ah, do not fear,
Glad tidings of great joy are near"
And now their meaning grows more clear,
"Lay down yours arms."

"Prepare the way" the prophet said,
"Prepare it for the Lord"
The way is love and peace and life,
We cannot work with sword;
For nineteen hundred years we've sought,
Our saints have prayed, our prophets taught,
With meaning new, the word's now fraught,
"Lay down your arms."

The Prince of Peace has waited long
To see His kingdom rise,
And now we know that war is wrong,
May we become more wise,
For Christ is being born again,
This time within the hearts of men
Let's look therein for peace, and then
"Lay down our arms."

Can be sung to tune "All Saints"

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A PRAYER FOR PEACE

A Prayer for Peace Offered Recently by Helen Keller

"In these days when war-drums sound throughout the world, let us pray that the God of light and harmony may open our eyes blinded by strife and our ears to the song of peace on earth, good-will to men. O Lord, in whose countenance is the morning of all things made new, shine upon us that we may illumine with peace the world-home Thou has given us.

"Remove from us pride of might and arrogance of possession. Stretch our thoughts that we may see the whole earth as our country and the inhabitants thereof as our neighbors.

"Fill our hearts with love that changeth discord to trust. Temper to our good the weariness and the broken hopes we cannot escape. Pour into us the strength of all valiant spirits, put into our hands constructive tasks of peace; let not our striving end with condemnation and folly and stupidity in high places. Quicken in us the will to resist the hysteria that they who take the sword raise to turn us aside from Thy commandments.

"Give us power to the depth, breadth and height of our souls to prevent the destructions we have lived to weep. Out of the embers of fires that have scorched and blackened Thy kingdom on earth, help us create a new order in which men shall no more become savages through fear. Unite us millions strong against the darkness of hate, as unnumbered sunbeams streaming one way sweeten the sod into green ecstasy and fruitfulness."

***

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CHRISTMAS CARDS

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As centuries pass, dark clouds obscure the Star
That brought Wise Men to worship from afar.

Today we pray that other men as wise
May see the Sign and to its greatness rise.
Humanity still waits for those who heed
The call to service in its hour of need.

O Star of Hope, arise! break through earth's night,

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(Unless otherwise indicated the plays and pageants listed below may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D.C.)

For Children

AROUND THE WORLD WITH SANTA CLAUS, Boeckel, 10¢

Chars: 1 adult, 2 children with speaking parts; 2 other adults and 7 children are also required. A fourth adult may be used to advantage and as many other children may take part as desired. Incidental music.
Time: 45 to 60 minutes.
Theme: An American boy and girl persuade Santa Claus to take them with him on his trip around the world. As they come to each country a scene shows a typical Christmas celebration.

CHILDREN'S LEAGUE, THE, by Elizabeth R. Gawn, 5¢

Chars: 5 boys; 3 girls; children from other lands.
Time: 30 minutes
Theme: Roused by seeing a moving picture of "All Quiet on the Western Front," two boys ask the fairy, Christmas Spirit, to let the children of the world form a "league for peace." Children from many foreign countries appear to them and pledge allegiance to the Spirit of Christmas and peace.

CHRISTMAS EVE, written by the low sixth grade of the Capitol View School, Atlanta, Georgia, WCPW, 5¢

Theme: The many foreign sources of our present day Christmas customs.

CHRISTMAS EVERYWHERE, Nickel. Women's Missionary Society, Muhlenberg Building, Philadelphia, 10¢

Chars: 50
Time: 30 minutes
Theme: Telling the story of Christmas to children of the Orient.

PERFECT RING, THE, Howells. Volume 1, Goodwill books; also mimeographed, 5¢

Chars: 22 Children, 2 older boys and girls, 1 adult.
Time: 45 to 60 minutes
Theme: The Christmas tree will light only in response to the gift of the perfect ring; children of many nations bring their gifts, but only when the spirit of Christmas leads them to join hands and form a perfect ring about the tree does it burst into light.

SANTA CLAUS DISARMS, Marion Wathen Fox, Harcourt, Kent County, New Brunswich, Canada. 6 copies for 50¢

Chars: 8, at least 1 girl.
Time: 20 minutes.

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SEEKING PEACE ON EARTH

A Christmas Play
by
Anna P. Shoemaker

(Reprinted from "Journal of the National Education Association," Dec. 1939
by permission of N. E. A.)

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS: Santa Claus; Mrs. Santa; Elf Brownie; Chairman of Meeting; Spirit of Peace; Mars, God of War. Minor characters: Speakers, entertainers, children of the nations. The play is adaptable to groups of any number. As written it was played by a junior highschool group in twenty minutes.

SCENE I

Scene: The home of Santa Claus. Mrs. Santa is busy preparing gifts for the girls. Around her may be seen dolls, books, skates, a small tree, and trimmings. Santa — surrounded by toys, all warlike, as guns, pistols, cannon — is packing a big bag. Elf Brownie, radio announcer, is seen at one side of the room helping with toys. Microphone is nearby.

MRS. SANTA - Santa, do you think that there will be a place in your bag for these dolls? You have so many toys and gifts for the boys that you seem to have forgotten the girls. (hears the click of a gun.) By the way, what have you there? I am surprised at you! Have you stopped to think that all those toys are dangerous, warlike weapons?

MR. SANTA - That is what the boys have asked me to carry to them, toys like the weapons their fathers are using. Many fathers are fighting in various parts of the world. So the boys are asking for soldiers. Yes, other boys are asking for cannon which will load just like the big ones their fathers are firing on battle fronts. Rifles, why so many of my boys have asked for these! You see, Mrs. Santa, I always try to take to the boys just those things which they ask me to carry to them. (Santa packs toy cannon, guns, rifles, into his bag.)

MRS. SANTA - Yes, Santa, you are right, but . . . (hesitates).

MR. SANTA - What is wrong, my good wife?

MRS. SANTA - I want this season of the year to be a gay, joyous time for all boys and girls. Yet I wish that their requests had been for skates; these would give exercise, health. Then, good books - mean friends and pleasant memories forever (walking toward a window, thinking aloud). Guns, cannon, soldiers - war with these. There can be no peace on earth.

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HAIL PAN-AMERICA

Words by
MARGARET BRACKENBURY CROOK

Music by
WALDO N. H. CROOK

Mixed Voices (4-parts or Unison) Price 10 cents

Published by
Waldo N. H. Crook
30 Washington Avenue
Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

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THE "ALABAMA" ROOM

By Geo. Huntington Donaldson

Alabama Room! Plow of Peace! Liberty Bell! Portrait of Admiral Semmes. Why this room and these objects in the heart of the old world; in the city hall of Geneva, Switzerland? Such is the surprised inquiry of the American who comes into this historic room where met, in 1871-2, the conference of the Commissioners of Great Britain, and the United States of America. After over twelve months of deliberation they awarded $15,510,900. cash indemnity to the United States for injury done to her shipping by the Alabama, and other confederate vessels fitted out in British Ports.

From that date, this room, where these Commissioners established a far reaching precedent for settling disputes between great nations by conference instead of war, has been the Alabama room. So rapid has been the growth of that idea that fifty years from the time when the city of Geneva invited these two nations to meet in her city hall for a peaceful and just settlement of their difficulties, the nations of the whole world were ready to come to Geneva, and confer annually, not only for the settlement of disputes, but, as to such just and equable relations among the nations that friendship should replace suspicion and enmity.

Now for seven years, there have been almost continuous conferences and each September, a great assembly of three representatives from each of fifty-five nations from every continent in the world.

Among all the millions coming to Geneva few get the significance of this

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INTERDEPENDENCE FROM NATION TO NATION

AND FROM AGE TO AGE

Bailey, Roy Rutherford, Romance and History of Time. 2 vols. Elgin National Watch Co., Elgin, Illinois.

Bridges, T. C., The Young Folk's Book of Invention. Little, Brown, Boston, $2.00.

Booklet and collection of posters, Early History of Paper making Art. Hammermill Paper Co., Erie, Pa.

Carpenter, Frank G., How the World Is Fed. American Book Co., N.Y. 96¢

Eaton, Jeannette, The Story of Light. Harper, N.Y., $1.25.

Eaton, Jeannette, The Story of Transportation. Harper, N.Y., $1.25.

Ege, Otto F., The Story of the Alphabet. Munder, Baltimore, $1.00.

Ege, Otto F., Pre-Alphabet Days. Munder, Baltimore, $1.25.

Hader, Berta and Elmer, The Picture Book of Travel. Macmillan, N.Y., $2.00.

Hallock, Grace T., Grain Through the Ages. The Quaker Oats Co., School Health Service, Chicago, free.

Hallock, Grace T., A Tale of Soap and Water. Cleanliness Institute, 45 East 17th St., N.Y., free for school use.

Hughes, Walter C., The Story of Candy, Nat'l. Confectioners' Ass'n., Chicago. Free.

Pamphlet, The Origin of Soap Materials. Proctor and Gamble Co., Cincinnati, O., free.

Thompson, Frederick Alan, From Mastodon to Motor. In "The World's Work," March, 1925, 35¢. Copies may be secured from Asphalt Ass'n., 441 Lexington Ave., N.Y.

Watson, Elizabeth, The Story of Bread. Harper, N.Y., $1.25.

Woods, Katherine, Where Do Lamps Come From? Nat'l. Lamp Works, Publicity Dept., Nela Park, Cleveland, O., free.

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Wis. Div. for Study. War Time Comm. Oct. 9, 1941

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THE MUSTARD SEED

WHAT ONE TOWN OF 4,000 INHABITANTS IS DOING FOR WORLD PEACE

RIPON (WISCONSIN) PROJECT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Fellowship Club of the Congregational Church at Ripon was about to die a natural death. It was decided that a program big enough to be a challenge was needed. The program committee met and proposed a study of world problems, so a series of six meetings was planned, taking up the need for such a study and then tackling the facts about the World Court, League of Nations, etc.

At the conclusion of the series such enthusiasm had been aroused that a committee was appointed to see what could be done to arouse interest in the community as a whole. The chairman called together all the presidents and program chairmen of the clubs and church societies of the town, to discuss the possibility of doing something as a community, and so Ripon's Project in International Relations was born.

All the program chairmen agreed to have at least one program this winter devoted to the subject. Some have formed study groups on the coming Disarmament Conference. The American Association of University Women plans to give ten minutes of each meeting to the outstanding world news of the month. The three Mothers' Clubs will give five minutes at every meeting. A committee was formed to make plans for outside speakers of repute, to speak at community meetings on Armistice Day, Washington's Birthday, and Memorial Day. Mr. Clark Eichelberger of the League of Nations Association will be the first speaker.

Two main emphases are being made; to urge the United States Senate to ratify the World Court protocols, and to work for the success of the Disarmament Conference. Petitions to realize both of these objects will be circulated.

The two local papers are carrying weekly editorials, and a special weekly column of international news.

A feature of community interest is an exhibit planned for Armistice Week in a window of every shop in town. This will show the inter-relatedness of the community with the rest of the world, through the things we eat, wear, or use which come from other countries or which we send to them . The Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring this exhibit.

A poster campaign carried on by the Boy Scouts is another feature. Posters placed in fifty conspicuous places will be changed every two weeks.

The Ministers' Association will use the topic of World Peace and Disarmament in the churches on Armistice Sunday.

The Christmas programs in all the churches will emphasize world peace. Many appropriate plays are available.

Ripon College is cooperating by furnishing students trained in the Public Speaking Department to local clubs and surrounding communities as speakers.

At the High School an Armistice Day program will be given, and probably an oratorical contest held later.

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BRIEF CEREMONY FOR UNVEILING

THE KELLOGG PACT POSTER

(The poster, already mounted on the wall, should be covered by an American flag so arranged that by the pulling of two cords it can be raised to a position above the poster, or by a piece of bunting which can be drawn aside at the proper moment.)

I. Opening Song, America, the Beautiful

II. Address

Topic: Leading up to the Kellogg Pact

This talk can be based on the attached statement, "The Pact of Paris: What It Means" and on the speeches by Justice Hughes and Representative Hull and will bring out the fact that the peace movement has been steadily developing through the centuries and has now reached a point where victory is in sight. This speech should also make the point that it is because the abolition of war has become imperative if civilization is to survive, that nations are devoting so great an effort to devising peace measures, the reason for this being the complete interdependence of the modern world developed during the last half century, and the devastating character of modern war. (Further material on these topics will be sent upon request).

III. Recitation (if desired to increase the length of the program)

If a touch of humor is desired History Teaches Us, (enclosed) or if something more dignified is preferred, The Wine Press by Alfred Noyes.

IV. At this point two young people should stand, one on either side of the poster, in order to unveil it at the proper moment. The following paragraphs are offered as suggestions for brief remarks leading up to

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O Happy World!

PALMER HARTSOUGH. J. H. FILLMORE.

1. Sing ev-ery clime and tongue, O hap - py world, O'er thee a gold-en day is break - ing; Peace hath her col - ors o'er the sky un - furled, War, na-tions press - ing; Jus - tice for truth and right shall now pre - vail, Crown-ing the deav - or; Cast out the de - mon war, break now his power—On earth be now are fast for - sak - ing.
2. Might shall for sin and wrong no more as - sail, No more the poor and weak op- joy - ful world with bless - ing.
3. Rise, na-tions in your might, as strikes the hour, Join ye, this high-est best en- peace henceforth for-ev - er.

CHORUS.

Hail! dawn of joy and peace, Bright-ly un-furled, Hail! reign of right-eous-ness, Bless - ing the world; Hail! earth in friend-ly mood, Hail! man in broth - er-hood, Hail! Him, the Fa-ther, good, O hap - py world!

rall.

Copyright, 1927, by The Fillmore Bros. Co., in "A Hymnal for Joyous Youth."

NOTE:—We will send free two copies of this song to any one who will sing it publicly as a Solo; or with the same Quartet, or any number needed as a Chorus to be sung publicly.—

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Ain't Goin' To Study War No More

Negro Spiritual, as played and sung by Lucille Barrow Turner.

VOICE.

PIANO.

1. I'm goin' to lay down my bur - den
2. I'm goin' to talk with King Je - sus

L.H.

down by de riv - er - side, down by the

riv - er - side,..... down by de riv - er - side.

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THE WINE-PRESS

Say that we dream! Our dreams have woven
  Truths that out-face the burning sun:
The lightnings, that we dreamed, have cloven
  Time, space, and linked all lands in one!
Dreams! But their swift celestial fingers
  Have knit the world with threads of steel,
Till no remotest island lingers
  Beyond the world's one Commonweal.

Tell us that custom, sloth, and fear
  Are strong, then name them "common-sense"!
Tell us that greed rules everywhere,
  Then dub the lie "experience":
Year after year, age after age,
  Has handed down, thro' fool and child,
For earth's divinest heritage
  The dreams whereon old wisdom smiled.

Dreams are they? But ye cannot stay them,
  Or thrust the dawn back for one hour!
Truth, Love, and Justice, if ye slay them,
  Return with more than earthly power:
Strive, if ye will, to seal the fountains
  That send the Spring thro' leaf and spray;
Drive back the sun from the Eastern mountains,
  Then-bid this mightier movement stay.

It is the Dawn of Peace! The nations
  From East to West have heard a cry,-
"Though all earth's blood-red generations
  By hate and slaughter climbed thus high,
Here-on this height-still to aspire,
  One only path remains untrod,
One path of love and peace climbs higher!
  Make straight that highway for our God."

-ALFRED NOYES.

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(Times Have Changed)

"HISTORY TEACHES US"

by

Aldena Carlson

Said Life Force to Ameba
  As she wiggled in the tide:
"It's time you're evoluting,
  So get busy and divide."
But Ameba, from Tradition,
  Argued it is plain to view
Where there's been one organism
  There can't suddenly be two!
        But there were.

Said Changed Environment to Amphibian,
  As he floated o'er the sand:
"You'll have to change your habits,
  Go bone-dry and live on land."
Wet Amphibian, by Zoology,
  Law of Fittest To Survive,
Demonstrated out of water
  He just couldn't keep alive!
        But he did.

Said Instinct to the Anthropoid,
  "If you're to slug and roar,
It's time you learned to balance
  On two feet instead of four."
Mr. Anthro proved by Physics
  That if he should leave his rut,
He'd lose his equilibrium
  And bump his cocoanut!
        But he didn't.

Said Experience to the Cave Man,
  "This rough stuff's going flat;
You'll have to rule your roost and clan
  By subtler means than that."
The Cave Man cited Nature's Law
  To prove he'd be a dub
For flabby Law-and Order
  To scrap his solid club!
        But he did.

Said Intellect to Modern Man,

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QUOTATIONS FROM EARLY PATRIOTS

George Washington:

See attached leaflet, "What Washington Wanted."

Thomas Jefferson:

"I do not believe war the most certain means of enforcing principles. Those peaceable coercions which are in the power of every nation, if undertaken in concert and in time of peace, are more likely to produce the desired effect.

"War is not the best engine for us to resort to. Nature has given us one in our commerce which, if properly managed, will be a better instrument for obliging the interested nations of Europe to treat us with justice.

"I love peace, and am anxious that we should give the world still another useful lesson, by showing them other modes of punishing injuries than by war, which is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer.

"I abhor war and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind.

"Peace has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved to the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it..... However, therefore, we may have been reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit. And this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government, and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under their care, in pursuit of a fantastic honor, unallied to virtue or happiness."

--Extract from letter to Thos. Pinckney in 1797.

Benjamin Franklin:

"I hope that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats..... What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility! What an extension of agriculture, even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable or joined by canals, what bridges, aqueducts, new roads, and other public works, edifices and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might have been obtained by spending those millions in doing good which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief, in bringing misery into thousands of families, and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labor!

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PEACE EXHIBIT

Held at a combined District Zone meeting and a District Preachers' Institute, Paris, Tennessee.

To announce the exhibit five young preachers were asked to act as sandwich men in a Peace Parade, they bore these placards:

- 1 -
Two + Two
Make
Four
Law + Gun
Makes
War
Disarm

- 2 -
War is
Always
Wrong
It Misdirects
Heroism

- 3 -
Armaments
Represent
Death
To
You
But Dividends To
The Private Firms

- 4 -
The Private Manufacture
And Sale of
Armaments
Is
Unpatriotic
Unchristian
Inhumen
Frustrating
The Peace of The World

- 5 -
A Field Marshall's View:
War
Is a
Futile Thing
It Never Insures Peace
Nor Composes Difficulties
What is Your View?

On entering the room where the Peace Exhibit was shown at the right of the door was Nicholas Murray Butler's Proclamation:

"Proclaim From the Housetops"

"Let it be proclaimed from the housetops that every Government and every people which seeks for security through arms is the unwitting enemy of the world's progress, that every Government and every people which seeks prosperity through isolation and through multiplied restriction on trade is prosperity's greatest obstacle. And that every Government and every people which resists and resents international co-operation to deal with the constant world wide problems of mankind is not patriotic, but its own nation's most treacherous and most persistent foe. These are the facts to be driven home in the public consciousness of the nations of the world".

Next was a hand drawn poster, Steps Toward Peace, representing a huge gate with Peace printed in large letters above it; the steps leading to it were: 1. Peace Pact, 2. World Court, 3. International Labor Organization, 4. League of Nations. Underneath this poster was a table exhibit with pamphlets on the World Court, Twenty Questions on the League, Appropriations

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COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS
105 East 22d Street, New York City

The Council of Women for Home Missions, at its annual meeting in January 1937, adopted the following recommendations:

"In order that the members of the Christian Church may work together in a united effort in the cause of peace, the Council of Women for Home Missions endorse the following nine point program for America's contribution to peace adopted at the meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on December 11, 1936:

—BY THE CHURCHES

"We would therefore urge the members and friends of our respective communions

1. to develop in their own and other people's minds the will to peace;
2. to bear fresh testimony to the utter and absolute contradiction between the practice of war and the profession of the Christian Gospel;
3. to make known to their government their support of those policies which tend toward peace and their condemnation of those policies which tend toward war;
4. to practice in their individual lives the universality which is in Christ and in this action to subordinate all considerations of national self-interest to the requirements of Christian citizenship;
5. to labor for the success of the World Conference of Christians scheduled to be held in Oxford, England, in July, 1937, and to pray that through this Conference the Christians of all lands may register their determination to combat war and to work for world justice and peace.

"The making of peace is not, however, the responsibility of the people alone; it is no less the task of government.

—BY THE GOVERNMENT

"We therefore appeal to the President and to the Government of the U.S.:

1. to implement still further its Good Neighbor policy with regard to the Western Hemisphere and to extend this policy of good neighborliness to all nations regardless of geographical propinquity;
2. to exercise moderation with respect to our military establishments to the end that the influence of the United States may be on the side of peace and not on the side of war;
3. to accept membership in the World Court and through such action relate our nation in a helpful way to the development of a world community

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR
1632 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City

The following organizations compose the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of war:

American Association of University Women, 1634 Eye St., Washington, D.C.
Council of Women for Home Missions, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City.
Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of N.A., 419-4th Ave., N.Y.C.
General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1734 N St., Washington, D. C.
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Assn.,600 Lexington Ave.,N.Y.C.
National Council of Jewish Women, 625 Madison Avenue, New York City.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, 1819 Broadway, N.Y.C.
National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,1730 Chicago Ave.,Evanston,Ill.
National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union,225 W.86th St.,N.Y.C.
National Women's Trade Union League, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D.C.

RECOMMENDED 1937 PROGRAM FOR SUPPORT AND STUDY

The Twelfth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War recommends to its participating organizations that they concentrate their efforts on the following during 1937:

A. Issues now before the country for action:
1. Revision of the neutrality policy of the United States.
   a. Support of legislation to implement the announced policy of the U.S. "to avoid being drawn into war and not to contribute to the prolongation of war.
   b. Promotion of public understanding of the significance of the new American attitude toward neutrality, with special emphasis on the relation of the neutrality policies of the United States to the collective efforts of other nations to maintain international peace by cooperative methods.
2. The continued support of national control of the manufacture of and trade in arms, ammunition, and the implements of war.
3. Support of the maintenance of the reciprocal trade agreement program of the U.S. as a means of relaxing international economic tensions and contributing to the restoration of international trade.
4. Opposition to the continuously expanding budgets for the army, navy, and air forces as being inconsistent with our commitments under the Pact of Paris; opposition to be dependent upon the clarification of our fundamental policies concerning national defense.
5. Abolition of compulsory military training in schools and colleges.
6. Prompt ratification of conventions adopted by the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace at Buenos Aires.
7. Taking full advantage of the membership of the United States in the International Labor Organization with a view to furthering social and economic justice throughout the world as an indispensable basis for peace.

B. Fundamental issues on which the United States must be preparing itself to act:

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

The National Council of Catholic Women at its Sixteenth Annual Convention, October 17-21, 1936, adopted the following resolution on peace:

"Through organized efforts among all its members, the N.C.C.W. undertakes the serious study of the Catholic principles of world peace, enunciated by Pope Pius XI, and his predecessors, and pledges its members, in accordance with these principles, to do all in their power to oppose aggressive warfare, urging the United States to cooperate with other countries in the establishment of social justice and world peace."

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
525 Madison Avenue, New York City

The National Council of Jewish Women, at its triennial convention in March, 1935, adopted the following resolutions:

Munitions

"Be it resolved--that the National Council of Jewish Women in Triennial Convention assembled urge its members to study carefully the findings of the Senate Committee for the Investigation of the Munitions Industry in preparation for taking a definite stand at the completion of the investigation on the recommendations for the control of munitions.

"Be it further resolved--that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to Senator Nye and the members of his Senate Investigating Committee.

World Court

"Whereas, the National Council of Jewish Women deplores the action of the United States Senate which led to the postponement of United States adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice;

"Be it resolved--that the National Council of Jewish Women in Triennial Convention assembled, reaffirm its faith in the Permanent Court of International Justice as an instrument of peace and pledges continued effort toward the accomplishment of United States adherence.

"Be it further resolved--that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Embargo on Arms

"Whereas endeavors of the government to prevent or halt hostilities have been obstructed by efforts of munitions manufacturers in order to promote the sale of arms;

"Be it resolved--that the National Council of Jewish Women urges that Congress grant the Executive authority to prevent the shipment of arms to any nation when the interest of peace can thereby be promoted.

"Be it further resolved--that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges

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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
Merchants Building, Cincinnati, Ohio

The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, at its Twelfth Biennial Assembly in January, 1937, adopted the following resolution on peace:

"The world is in distress. Nations, unmindful of the concern for life and peace of mind of their citizens are engaged in a mad race to arm. This very madness is the greatest danger to man today.

"We believe that public opinion in our land should be aroused to the danger that now faces us, even though we are on this side of the Atlantic. We believe unless we exercise the greatest diligence, perversive forces will force us into the cauldron of destruction.

"Therefore be it resolved that the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods urges it members to exercise effort to avoid such entanglements as may endanger our peace and be it further resolved;

"That we urge the President of the United States and Congress to desist from any course that will lead us into this vortex and away from the great Jewish and American Ideal of Peace."

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
532-17th St., Washington, D.C.

Among the resolutions of the W.I.L. adopted at their annual meeting of April 30 - May 3, 1937 were the following bearing directly on world peace issues:

RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE SPANISH CONFLICT:

Since the continuation of the Spanish conflict permits the danger to world peace to mount tragically day by day,

BE IT RESOLVED that we most earnestly urge the President to take the initiative of which he is so largely capable to call for concerted action for mediation, with the immediate objective of withdrawing all foreign troops from Spain.

RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT ON A POLICY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE:

Because a well-defined National Defense policy would provide an effective gauge by which to judge the enormously increasing expenditure for armament and naval construction;

Because such a policy would clarify conflicting interpretation of what is meant by the defense of our country, as offered by the policy of the Good Neighbor, in contrast to the "adequate national defense" demands of the Army and Navy Departments;

Because such a policy would serve to announce our intention to curtail the use of the military forces of this country, so that no other country would ever need prepare to defend itself against us; and

Because on the testimony of United States Military and Naval authorities an expedition to our shores is a virtual impossibility; -

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we most strongly urge the appointment of a qualified civilian commission to study and clarify the National Defense policy of the United States.

RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT ON RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS:

Because American high tariffs during the post-war era had established a precedent for upbuilding of trade barriers on a world-wide scale;

Because the present change in policy constitutes the most realistic contribution which the U.S. could possibly make toward international economic disarmament;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we heartily endorse the Roosevelt Administration's progress toward lower tariffs and equitable treatment of all nations who refrain from trade discrimination against us, as provided in the "most favored nation" clause of the Trade Agreement Act;

BE IT RESOLVED ALSO that we thank the Secretary of State most especially for his distinguished leadership in furthering reciprocal trade agreements, and congratulate him on the extension of the Trade Agreements Act by Congress for three more years.

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT FOR DISARMAMENT:

Believing it to be essential to the peace of the world to curtail the present made race in armaments;

BE IT RESOLVED that we beg President Roosevelt to endeavor to secure an international agreement to provide for -

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YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS
600 Lexington Avenue, New York City

The 1936-1938 Program of Study and Action contained the following section on International Relations:

1. To seek to understand the underlying causes of war and the political, social and economic adjustments needed to bring about the elimination of war as a means of settling international disputes.

2. To further organization for international cooperation as a substitute for the war system through support of:

   a. United States adherence to the World Court.
   b. Cooperation of the United States with and membership in the League of Nations on terms consistent with our commitments under the Briand Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact.
   c. Promotion of general understanding of the work and values of the International Labor Office in order that the United States may participate effectively in its activities.
   d. Participation of the United States in world conferences for the reduction and control of armaments.
   e. Cooperation of the United States with other nations for the lowering of barriers to international trade, for the control of access to markets and raw materials, and for a final settlement of the war debts.

3. To further domestic policies directed against the war system by:

   a. Support of measures needed to keep the United States out of war, to prevent the United States from protracting war or from making profits from war and to make our influence effective in preventing or lessening war.
   b. Support of further regulation of the manufacture of and traffic in arms.
   c. Opposition to expansion of our military and naval establishments as being inconsistent with our commitments under the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact; opposition to compulsory military training in civil educational institutions; opposition to the use of girls and women in honorary positions and in militarized school units as a means of making the instruments of war attractive to both men and women.
   d. Support of immigration policies that shall be free from racial discrimination and consistent with our announced intention of being a "good neighbor."*

4. The subject of special study for the next two years is "The System of International Organization Needed for a Community of Nations."

*Such as the repeal of those items of the Immigration Act of 1924 which exclude Orientals(commonly known as the Japanese Exclusion Act). This issue may again

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To Mothers Especially

by

Vera Brittain

"What's the use of having ideal children and a perfect nursery, if you do nothing to stop them from being blown to bits within the next twenty years?"

"Honourable Estate."

I WONDER if you have ever been a canvasser at a general election?

If so, you will be as familiar as I am with the woman who shuts the door in your face with the words: "No, I'm not going to vote. Politics don't interest me—I leave all that to my husband."

Perhaps, irritated by too many enthusiastic callers, you have said something of the kind yourself. You may even have felt a little pride in saying it. After all, your children come first, don't they? How can you help them by going to hot, crowded meetings where everybody talks too much, or reading long dull articles in the newspapers?

Your children are your job. Let other people mind their own business and you'll mind yours.

I understand that feeling. I have a boy of nine and a girl of six myself. And yet I can't help thinking that, for their sake if for no other reason, it *is* my business to know what is going on outside the walls of my house.

Has it ever occurred to you that nowadays, ever since 1928, when all women over 21 were given votes, you have a certain amount of political responsibility whether you like it or not? You cannot escape it by ignoring it. You merely become one of your country's worst enemies—those people who allow calamities to occur by doing nothing to prevent them.

What is more, you become an enemy to your own children. The greatest danger to them to-day does not arise, as it once did, from epidemics, nor even from street accidents, far too numerous as these are. It arises from the possibility that, just when they reach manhood or womanhood, they will be involved in another great war. A war far worse than the last, because of the terrible weapons which have been invented since 1918.

"Yes," you may say, "I've heard about that. It sounds too dreadful. But what's it got to do with me? I'm not an ambassador or a foreign secretary. I can't stop it if I want to."

BUT YOU *CAN!*

Do you realise that there are more women voters than men in this country? Do you know that if every woman, for her children's sake, used her vote against a war policy, our Government would be obliged to take the lead in making peace proposals instead of preparing for "the next war"? Are you aware that you and your husband will soon be helping to pay a huge armaments bill just because millions of English wives and mothers are too apathetic to protest?

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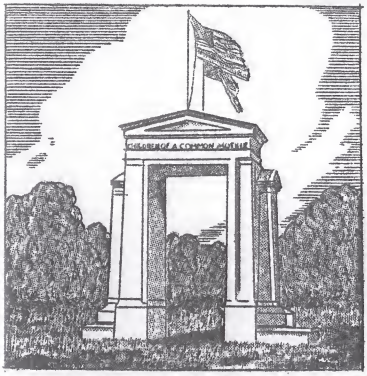

THE PEACE ARCH

There is perhaps no greater peace monument in the world than the over 3,000 miles of boundary line lying between the United States and Canada without a fort or battleship from end to end. It is accepted so much as a matter of course that its importance and significance are hardly realized. Actually it required more than a year of constant negotiation between this country and England to do away with the fleet of battleships on the Lakes and which it was the intention of both governments following the War of 1812 to increase.

At many points along the line there are now symbols of the more than a century of peace which has existed between the two countries. The International Peace Bridge was opened in Buffalo in 1927 by high officials of England, Canada and the United States. This peace arch was unveiled in 1921 in Blaine, Washington. It stands half on British soil and half on American and carries the flags of the two countries

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WHAT CAN LIBERAL BUSINESS MEN DO FOR PEACE?

The prevention of war and the promotion of peace are today the primary concern of governments. It is fitting that liberal business men should begin to take an intelligent interest in the subject. If they don't like the present set-up of the peace organizations in America, they have their choice between starting a new peace organization of their own and taking hold energetically to improve the agencies at hand. That the business men shall continue to do nothing to prevent another war is inconceivable.

There are today about a dozen national peace organizations in the United States, plus twice as many national women's organizations that have committees on international relations, and denominational bodies similarly organized with peace committees or committees on international relations. With these two last named types of organization we need not here concern ourselves, since they would exist anyway for other reasons, whether world peace were achieved or not. I refer to such organizations as the Y.W.C.A., the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National W.C.T.U., the American Friends Service Committee, and the Congregational Committee for Special Action.

The dozen peace organizations include Foundations like the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the World Peace Foundation (founded by Edwin Ginn), and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches; the Federal Council of Churches with its department of International Justice and Goodwill; and the Catholic Association for International Peace, supported wholly by Catholics; also one research body with a branch here in Philadelphia, the Foreign Policy Association, which would probably not accept the title of "a peace organization".

There is also our general clearing house, the National Peace Conference, to which all of the organizations named belong. There is the American League for Peace and Democracy which, because of its relation with the Communists, has not been admitted to the National Peace Conference. Student organizations have also been omitted from this list.

There remain the following national peace organizations, in alphabetical order: Committee on Militarism in Education, Fellowship of Reconciliation, League of Nations Association, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, National Council for Prevention of War, Public Action Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Peaceways.

Even a cursory examination of these eight peace organizations will show their inadequacy for the task that confronts our nation, the promotion of peace and the prevention of war.

The Committee on Militarism in Education comprises perhaps 2,000

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SUGGESTIONS FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, FEBRUARY 12

FIRST SPEAKER: (A teacher or older student)

The men who led this nation through its three greatest wars, the Revolution, the Civil War and the World War, were men whose great desire and great efforts were for peace.

George Washington said, "My first wish is to see this plague of mankind, war, banished from the earth." Woodrow Wilson gave his own life in a heroic struggle to make mankind's sacrifice in the World War bring peace to the world.

Abraham Lincoln did everything in his power to prevent war between the states and when the old habit of settling disputes by armed force was too much for him he turned the whole energy of his spirit into making the war result in a closer union of the people of America and in a growth of tolerance and human sympathy among them.

Remembering the situation of the country at the time, the height of passion and conviction, alike in the north and in the south, consider the difficulty which faced the man who was elected to represent the whole people, and consider further the courage which it required in any man to speak the words of Lincoln's first inaugural message to Congress and the people. Consider not only their courage, but, applying them to world conditions today, their far-seeing wisdom.

SECOND SPEAKER: (The following extracts from Lincoln's first inaugural* may be read by the first speaker or a second speaker may be introduced by him and read or recite them)

"Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of

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GAMES OF MANY LANDS

If some day a child actually found the seven-league boots and played his way around the world between sunrise and sunset, he would find that in almost every nation into which he stepped he could join the children in their games! Quite on the other side of the world he would find the boys and girls of Japan playing "Pussy wants a corner", but calling it "The Demon and Harbors of Truth"; and Chinese boys and girls playing "Blind Man's Buff" by the name of "Call the chickens home". In Germany, the children would be playing "Golden Bridge" and any child of England or America could join them, for "Golden Bridge" is just the same as "London Bridge". In the heart of Central Africa there would be going on a wild game of "Owl and Wolf", which is but "Hide and go seek".

In every country, too, the child traveling about in seven-league boots would find children playing at games he had never heard of, but games as much fun as his own -- perhaps some of them more fun!

Here are a few of these games of other children:

ITALY

Chicken Market - All the children pretend they are chickens, except one who is the buyer and another the market woman. The child who is the market woman says to the children: "Stand in a row, little chickens. Stoop down and clasp your hands under your knees. Don't unclasp your hands and don't laugh, or even smile, no matter what happens."

The buyer then comes up and asks, "Have you any chickens?" "Yes, I have very nice chickens," answers the market woman, "Would you like to try them?" If you please," says the buyer. Then the buyer goes behind the chickens. She places her hands upon the first little chicken's head. "This," she says, "is too tough." She tries the second. "This is too old", she says. She tries the third. "This chicken is too skinny." At last she says, "This one is just right." Then the buyer and the market woman take hold of the little chicken's arms and swing it, "One, two, three" they count as they swing it. "You are a good little chicken. You kept your hands clasped and you did not laugh". If the chicken laughs he is put out of the game!

FRANCE

French Tag - When French children play tag, certain boundaries are agreed upon beyond which players may not run, though they may climb or jump over any obstacle within the boundaries. Any player who goes out of bounds is at once declared to be "It" by the pursuer. Otherwise, the game is like ordinary tag; any player who is tagged by the chaser becomes "It".

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KILL THIS FASCISTIC LEGISLATION!

Frederick J. Libby

The "Military Disaffection Bill," passed by the Senate without consideration or record vote and now on the calendar of the House, if enacted into law, will deprive the press and the people of our country of their constitutional right to free speech. The suppression of liberty is always the forerunner of war.

This bill (Tydings-McCormack Bill, S. 2253) provides in brief:

> "Whoever advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the Army or Navy of the United States...to disobey the laws or regulations (any order issued by higher authority) governing such forces... or whoever publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing which advises," etc., "shall be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or both."

A second section of the bill provides that any of the writing described in the first section might be seized from any place or person under a search warrant in accordance with the provisions of the war-time Espionage Act.

The majority of the House Military Affairs Committee, in reporting the bill, quotes letters from the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, and others, endorsing the legislation "heartily" as a means of suppressing "Communist" propaganda in the Army and Navy. As a matter of fact and of legal interpretation, it would unquestionably suppress all agitation against the huge Army and Navy appropriations and criticism of the Army and Navy leaders and Army and Navy policies, just as is the case in Germany and in Italy.

The minority report by Congressman Maverick (D., Texas) and Kvale (F.-L., Minn.), charging that the bill is unconstitutional, unnecessary and "a brash piece of Hitleristic fascism," points out that "If a mother wrote her son, a soldier, and told him that the Army was no place for him and enjoined him to get out, she would be subject to a penitentiary sentence...Any newspaper so much as suggesting an increase or decrease in the Army would be subject to its provisions. A newspaper suggesting that the Navy did not have the best battleships could be charged with violation of the law in that they were inciting sailors to disaffection... Criticism of brutality, mistreatment, bad food, unsanitary conditions--or anything of that character-- could be met by the most brutal suppression, searches and seizures, and penitentiary sentences."

"The second section of this bill," the report states, "is a pure case of unwarranted, unconstitutional and bigoted tyranny. It provides for every conceivable violation of the rights of search and seizure, for the breaking into the homes of the American people and shows a reckless disregard of every American principle of liberty...

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Editorial from "The Moultrie (Georgia) Observer"

FROM A SMALL ACORN

"Large oaks, from small acorns grow."

The small acorn thought comes from a letter in the editor's mail. Miss Mildred Hicks, Secretary of the Citizenship Department, Bainbridge Woman's Club, writes:

"On Oct. 16, an AP story of the peace resolution of the Colquitt county grand jury appeared in the state news. On Oct. 21, the Bainbridge Woman's Club appointed its citizenship department (Miss Evirgiline Bower, chairman) as a committee to appeal to the Decatur county grand jury to pass a similar resolution; the citizenship department to invite other club and church groups and interested individuals to join the Woman's club in a signed petition to the grand jury at its November session.

"On Nov. 9, delegates from about 20 organizations appeared at the courthouse to sign the petition. These organizations were: Woman's Club, Business and Professional Women's Club, W. C. T. U., Book Club, University Women, Legion Auxiliary, U. D. C., Decatur Advance, Georgia Committee National Council for Prevention of War, Post-Searchlight, Baptist W. M. S. and Circles, Methodist Circles, Presbyterian Auxiliaries, Episcopal Guild, Catholic Church, Fidelis Class. Interested individuals and uninstructed members of other organizations added a page of names to be submitted to the grand jury in behalf of this peace resolution.

"The grand jury, by unanimous vote, passed a strong resolution against participation in any war, and called upon the clerk of the grand jury to send copies of the resolution to the President and to the members of the Georgia congressional delegation.

"This peace resolution was made 'Item I' of the grand jury presentments, and was given an AP story, as well as local press notice. The Bainbridge Post-Searchlight, in commenting on the resolution, closed by saying, 'what would be the result if every grand jury in the nation sent in a similar ultimatum.'

"The Colquitt county grand jury did indeed 'start something' with their resolution against war, and may their action inspire, not only the Decatur county grand jury, but all other grand juries in Georgia and the nation."

Is it worthwhile for the grand jury in a single county (there are more than three thousand counties in the United States) to pass a resolution suggesting to our great government what its policy shall be in international affairs? Some would say yes, while some would say no. Some would quickly decide that a yawning wastebasket would

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

From: National Council for
Prevention of War
532 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Striking a balance between the arguments for and against application of neutrality to the Far East, the news bulletin of the National Council for Prevention of War in its September issue will publish the following analysis by Florence Brewer Boeckel, associate secretary, concluding with the demand for application of the law:

"The neutrality law is on the books. It is not being applied to the Far East. Nobody knows what the effects of the application of the law would be. Certain effects of its non-application are, however, clear. Weighed against the arguments for not applying it, the balance stands as follows:

"The reasons given or implied for not applying the law have been,

"1) Japan's attack is not a war against the Chinese Government. So long as Japan confined its attack to the north of China, this argument was sound. It was rendered unsound when Japan, meeting with unexpected resistance in the north and for financial and political reasons needing quick success, extended its attack to the principal cities of China.

"2) Application of neutrality would lead to a blockade of Chinese ports by Japan. Also sound in the beginning, events have wiped out this argument. Japan has blockaded Chinese ports.

"3) American lives in China would be endangered. Americans are losing their lives in China today.

"4) The United States Government is committed by earlier policies -- such as the Open Door -- to a line of action with which neutrality is not compatible. Congressional statements when the neutrality law was passed

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COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS
105 East 22d Street, New York City

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The Council of Women for Home Missions, at its annual meeting in January 1937, adopted the following recommendations:

"In order that the members of the Christian Church may work together in a united effort in the cause of peace, the Council of Women for Home Missions endorse the following nine point program for America's contribution to peace adopted at the meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on December 11, 1936:

-BY THE CHURCHES

"We would therefore urge the members and friends of our respective communions

1. to develop in their own and other people's minds the will to peace;
2. to bear fresh testimony to the utter and absolute contradiction between the practice of war and the profession of the Christian Gospel;
3. to make known to their government their support of those policies which tend toward peace and their condemnation of those policies which tend toward war;
4. to practice in their individual lives the universality which is in Christ and in this action to subordinate all considerations of national self-interest to the requirements of Christian citizenship;
5. to labor for the success of the World Conference of Christians scheduled to be held in Oxford, England, in July, 1937, and to pray that through this Conference the Christians of all lands may register their determination to combat war and to work for world justice and peace.

"The making of peace is not, however, the responsibility of the people alone; it is no less the task of government.

-BY THE GOVERNMENT

"We therefore appeal to the President and to the Government of the U.S.:

1. to implement still further its Good Neighbor policy with regard to the Western Hemisphere and to extend this policy of good neighborliness to all nations regardless of geographical propinquity;
2. to exercise moderation with respect to our military establishments to the end that the influence of the United States may be on the side of peace and not on the side of war;
3. to accept membership in the World Court and through such action relate our nation in a helpful way to the development of a world community of law and justice;

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ASK EACH CANDIDATE THESE QUESTIONS

Their answers will indicate whether they know how to work to keep America out of war

1. **Neutrality.**—Will you uphold the Neutrality Act, supporting only those amendments that will strengthen the present law by making it mandatory on the President to embargo basic raw materials such as oil and scrap iron to nations at war, and thus guard against the United States government's fighting in foreign wars?

Yes..... No.....

2. **Munitions embargo.**—Will you support a peace-time arms embargo?

Yes..... No.....

3. **World disarmament.**—Will you work actively for United States initiation of world economic and military disarmament, by conference or otherwise?

Yes..... No.....

4. **Referendum.**—Will you support an amendment to the Constitution to provide that, except in case of actual or threatened invasion, war may be declared only by vote of the people?

Yes..... No.....

5. **Civil liberties.**—Will you oppose all legislation which in any way threatens the constitutional rights of free speech, press and assembly?

Yes..... No.....

6. **Anti-lynching.**—Will you support a Federal anti-lynching bill?

Yes..... No.....

7. **Conscription.**—Will you oppose the passage of legislation for universal conscription in war time, setting up a dictatorship over farmers, labor and industry?

Yes..... No.....

8. **National defense policy.**—

(a) Will you support a national defense policy and program limited to defense of our soil against invasion and definitely not designed for defense of our interests and investments abroad?

Yes..... No.....

(b) Will you work for a sound democracy at home based on a national program of construction, conservation and expanded education, rather than a false prosperity, built on a war boom?

Yes..... No.....

9. **No foreign wars.**—Will you pledge that you will never vote this country into war except in the case of actual invasion of continental United States?

Yes..... No.....

TELL VOTERS WHAT THEY SAY!

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CHRISTMAS CARDS

Folder Cards with Cover Design

in Green and White

Christmas Greetings in Red

Any One of the Verses

Printed on the Inside Pages

Matching Envelopes

National Council for Prevention of War,
532-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Branch Offices

68 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.
612 Stock Exchange Building, Portland, Ore.
134 Chestnut Street, Springfield, Mass.

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CHRISTMAS SONGS

(Items marked NCPW may be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War.)

Two songs with lantern slides, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. The First Nowell, one slide, 20¢; Hark, the Herald Angels, 2 slides, 40¢.

Carols in all collections. Words mimeographed, NCPW, attached.

Sound over All Waters. NCPW, 5¢. Special quantity rates.

The Way of Peace, Fillmore Music House, Cincinnati, Ohio, 8¢, 50 copies $3.25:
Ring the Happy News Everywhere
Peace and Goodwill
O Happy World

In The Dawning, Fillmore Music House, Cincinnati, Ohio; 8¢ each, 85¢ a dozen:
Immanuel Prince of Peace
Heralds of Dawning
The Day of Peace
Hail to the Prince of Peace

Christmas Everywhere. In Christmas Recitations and Dialogues. Fillmore Music House, Cincinnati, Ohio, 15¢.

O Happy World. Printed flier, NCPW, free (For children)

The Son of God Goes Forth for Peace by Ernest Bourner Allen. Words mimeographed, NCPW.

Ain't Goin' Study War No Mo' - arranged by Lucille Barrow Turner, NCPW, 5¢.

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IF you are WISE

YOU WILL WORK FOR —

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A PROGRAM FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

"My country is the world; my religion is to do good."

*****

Practical Suggestions for Attacking the Problem of World Peace

*****

I. Programs and Study Courses for Young People's Groups and Meetings:

A. Methodist Book Concern, New York: "Everyday Adventures in Christian Living Series," etc.

1. Patriotism, by Maude Gwinn (15¢, 2 for 25¢)
2. World Friendship (15¢, 2 for 25¢)
3. War, by Mary Hunter (15¢, 2 for 25¢)
4. Toward Racial Understanding, by L. B. Murphy (15¢, 2 for 25¢)
5. How Can We Work for Peace? by J. B. Mathews (15¢, 2 for 25¢)
6. The Bible and War, by J. B. Mathews (15¢, 2 for 25¢)
7. Toward World Understanding, by Goddard, Abingdon Press, 1932 (25¢)
8. Thinking It Through: a discussion of World Peace (40¢)

B. United Christian Endeavor Society, Boston:

1. Adventuring in World Cooperation, a discussion course of eight lessons and appendix. (25¢)

C. Pilgrim Press, Boston:

1. Christian Fellowship Among the Nations, by Prof. Jerome Davis. A discussion course in 13 lessons and appendix. (25¢)

II. Suggestions and Projects for Youth and Church Groups for Improving Program Technique:

A. How to make meetings more stimulating and varied:

1. Planning. To prevent overlapping of discussion, plan topics and program at least one month ahead, with leaders present. Instruct secretary to take notes of discussions which can be read at next meeting. A summary by the leader at the end of the meeting helps.
2. Music. Select appropriate hymns. Try to have special music harmonize with topic, such as America the Beautiful, Ain't Goin' To Study War No More, etc. Show world interdependence in music.
3. Drama. Intorudce topic with short pageant or playlet. Get five or six people to read a scene from Journey's End, or something else. Many topics that you might discuss have already been put in dramatic form. Tableaux with music can also be used. Why not try it?
4. Poetry. Ask someone with a good voice to read Hagedorn's To the Unknown Soldier, Whittier's Disarmament, Tenyson's Locksley Hall, or James Oppenheim's 1914 - and After. A good book of peace poetry is Cease Firing. Soft musical accompaniment will render reading more effective.
5. General. Vary program technique. Try a short pageant one night, a debate another time, an outside speaker the next. Above all do not let the leader make it a "one-man show." Use as many as convenient to contribute directly to the program.

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DISCUSSION OUTLINE
for book
"Why Wars Must Cease"
(Macmillan--Price $1.00)

For Use in Women's Clubs and Study Groups

I. Introduction - by Leader of Group.
A brief account of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War--its origin; purpose; how it functions; reason for this book, names of authors, etc. (See "Foreword" in book)

II. Questions - to be asked by Leader and answered by members of the group to whom they have been assigned at a previous meeting.

Chapter I. "Because If We Do Not Destroy War Now, War Will Destroy Us"--Carrie Chapman Catt.

1. What inconsistency do you see between the League of Nations, Paris Pact, etc. and the expenditures of the nations for War? Page 1,2.

2. What benefits can accrue to any nation from modern warfare? Why? Page 3.

3. How was the World War the natural outgrowth of conditions prevailing both in the immediate and in the more remote past? Pages 4-6.

4. Describe the tremendous war machine mobilized in all nations 1914-18. Pages 6-10.

5. What estimates have been made of the cost of the World War--in money? in lives? Pages 10-13.

6. In what respects will the "next war" be still more disastrous? Pages 13-18.

Chapter II. "Because the War Idea Is Obsolete"--Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

1. Can you illustrate from the example of witchcraft and duelling how the idea of a thing can be obsolete before the thing itself ceases to be a menace? Pages 20-22.

2. If the "war idea" is obsolete why do we still have wars? Pages 22,23.

3. When is an idea "obsolete"? When was war not "obsolete"? Pages 23,24.

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EXPERIMENT IN TEACHING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

GEORGIA STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE

Three or four students in the Department of Political Science, Georgia State Teachers' College, International Relations Class, compete for the award of a prize of a trip to Europe offered by the League of Nations Association, New York City.

This essay is assigned as a contest among College Students.

Georgia State Teachers' College students are all preparing to teach in the State common schools and are studying educational method.

Miss Roberta Hodgson, Athens, Georgia, teacher of Political Science Department, Georgia State Teachers' College, Athens, Georgia, has undertaken to teach the Sixth Grade on the subject of The League of Nations, as a practice demonstration of method in the Model School of Georgia State Teachers' College.

In the Sixth Grade are thirty-six children, whose fine response to the teaching is encouraging. Attached are some of our first lessons on the League, a list of printed questions on the League of Nations. The children, without previous instruction, find truthful information and knowledge of the League. These children of the Sixth Grade will write, presenting facts to prove their information on the League. The girls of the International Relations Class will prepare as their lessons, recording the methods of their teaching experiment and the response of the Sixth Grade for the prize contest essay, thus proving their knowledge of method - how these facts were taught and learned by the children of the Sixth Grade.

The college students study World Politics, each student makes a study of one basic feature of International Relations, using as text books: P. T. Moon,

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MAKERS OF THE FLAG

Adapted by Labelle Chappell Anderson
from a speech by Franklin K. Lane
(Revised - C. A. Hemple)

THE FLAG: Good morning, Mr. Flagmaker!

GOVERNMENT CLERK (entering right, as if going to work; stops as Flag speaks, as if surprised to be thus addressed) I beg your pardon, Old Glory, aren't you making a mistake? I am not the President of the United States, nor a member of Congress, nor even a general in the army. I am only a government clerk.

THE FLAG:

I greet you again, Mr. Flagmaker! You are the man who worked in the swelter of yesterday, straightening out the tangle of that farmer's homestead in Idaho. I give you greeting, Mr. Flagmaker!

(The Clerk crosses to left, and then pauses to watch the flag and the passersby the rest of whom continue their way down the street, returning to listen to the Flag's closing speech.)

THE FLAG: Good morning, little Flagmaker!

SCHOOL BOY: Dear Flag, are you speaking to me?

THE FLAG: I am, indeed, speaking to you. Yesterday the President did many great things in his office as a maker of the flag, and you, by the things you are doing, are also making the flag as well.

SCHOOL BOY: What things? I am afraid I don't understand.

THE FLAG: Are you not saving your nickles, denying yourself at times and practicing thrift?

SCHOOL BOY: Yes, I work, doing all sorts of errands and things. Besides, I am learning to care for my clothes and books.

THE FLAG: Then you are making the flag, just as your brother did when he was fighting overseas, and the lawmakers who sit in the halls of Congress.

SCHOOL BOY: My! but I'm glad I help!

THE FLAG: Mrs. Flagmaker, good morning!

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OUR COUNTRY

Frederick L. Hosmer

"O beautiful, my Country!"
  Be thine a nobler care,
Than all thy wealth of commerce,
  Thy harvests waving fair:
Be it thy pride to lift up
  The manhood of the poor;
Be thou to the oppressed
  Fair Freedom's open door!

For thee our fathers suffered,
  For thee they toiled and prayed;
Upon thy holy altar
  Their willing lives they laid.
Thou hast no common birthright,
  Grand memories on thee shine;
The blood of pilgrim nations
  Commingled, flows in thine.

O Beautiful, our Country!
  Round thee in love we draw;
Thine is the grace of Freedom,
    The majesty of Law.
Be Righteousness thy sceptre,
  Justice thy diadem;

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THE FLAG OF PEACE

Men long have fought for their flying flags,
  They have died those flags to save;
Their long staves rest on the shattered breast,
  They are planted deep in the grave.
Now the world's new flag is streaming wide,
  Far-flying wide and high.
It shall cover the earth from side to side
  As the rainbow rings the sky.

The flag of the day when men shall stand
  For service, not for fight;
When every race, in every land,
  Shall join for the world's delight;
When all our flags shall blend in one,
  And all our wars shall cease,
'Neath the new flag, the true flag,
  The rainbow flag of peace.

On a field of white that bow above
  Shall arch the world across,
And all the colors that we love
  Glow there without a loss
Orange and green in union new,
  Proud gold and violet fair,
With world-beloved red, white and blue
  Shall shine together there.

Green from the earth that holds us one,
  All blue of sky and sea,
And the golden hue of that great sun,
  In whose light our life must be.
Red for the blood of brotherhood,
  White for the soul's release,--
The new flag! The true flag!
  The rainbow flag of peace!

--Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

From "Labor" by permission.

THE COLORS OF THE FLAG

First I see your purest white
Bathed in the early morning light,
Emblem of peace, and truth, and love
Waving your message beyond - above.

Then I can see some fairy sprite
Taking the red from the sunshine bright
And a bit of heaven's choicest blue,
And let the stars come shining through

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THE FLAG

WE ARE ALL MAKING THE FLAG

I am what you make me, nothing more.

I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself.

A pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation.

My stars and my stripes are your dreams and your labors.

They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts.

WE ARE ALL MAKING THE FLAG.

—Franklin K. Lane.

"THE SPIRIT OF OUR FLAG"

The Cross of Honor of the United States Flag Association
Presented to Charles A. Lindbergh

"The significance of this tribute from the United States Flag Association lies in the recognition in your achievements and personality of the qualities symbolized by the flag of our country. You flew the 'Spirit of St. Louis,' a fitting emblem of enterprise, but in your flight you happily incarnated the Spirit of America herself.

"It is dauntless personal courage that is the foundation of our Republic. The spirit of America which you embody is the spirit of youth with its unquenchable ardor, its resistless searchings, its undying enthusiasms.

"Our flag is not the flag of a race, but of a people, strong in the strength of many races unified by common experiences in the pursuit of common ideals. You represent to us that fortunate blending of physical and intellectual qualities which makes America unique among the nations.

"There was healing in your wings. In your flight to Europe you became our most successful messenger of good will. How could all that our flag represents be better exemplified than in your youth, your courage, your

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STRIKE UP THE BAND!

by

Bernard C. Clausen.

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National Council for Prevention of War,
532 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

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WHAT ONE CHURCH IS DOING TO PREVENT WAR

Sent out by Sydney Strong, American Express Company, Geneva, Switzerland.

Rev. B. C. Hopson is vicar of Christ Church, Cockfosters, Barnet, England. What he and a large company in his Church have done is highly significant and worthy of consideration, with imitation. He would doubtless welcome correspondence from anyone who desires to see the Church take a right stand in the matter of war.

On Sunday evening, June 24, 1932, after a sermon in the morning on "Christ and War", at a Meeting in the Church House at the close of the service, the following "Declaration" was assented to, and has since been signed by nearly 150 people, all over 18 years of age.

Declaration

"We, being members and friends of the congregation of Christ Church, Cockfosters, convinced that war is contrary to the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, declare that we will not bear arms in the event of another war, or help in the preparation for it, and we respectfully urge all the Christian Congregations of the world to make a similar declaration".

(Below is given space for 20 names - with injunction, "No one under the age of 18 to sign").

In the Parish Magazine, Mr. Hopson, among many comments makes the following: "For Christians, the supreme issue is the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. If they feel that war is incompatible with our Lord's teaching and example they must so act upon it and be prepared to take the consequences.

"For my own part, I have long pondered over the problem, I have thought of war as the final appeal, etc., but prolonged thought and study and prayer have more than convinced me that it is the supreme blasphemy to mix up Christ and war and to perpetrate the nameless barbarities of warfare in His name and ask for His blessing upon it.

"The world has too long been dragged at the chariot wheels of the god of war- as false and foul a deity as ever degraded the mind of man - and I blush with shame for the part that the so-called Christian Church (I along with it up to a point) played in the last war.

"War has been revealed at last in all its senseless and futile and leprous reality. It is unmanly, ungentlemanly, unchivalrous, unchristian. It blinds and degrades and brutalizes, and after an incredible expenditure of blood and money, after destroying youth and genius and happiness, it leaves a drained world with more problems to solve than it had before and with less ability to solve them.

"Is it any wonder that millions are coming to believe that it is man's deadliest enemy, and that Christian people are beginning to see that in the name of Christ they can have nothing to do with it".

The best wishes of all throughout the world, who oppose war, will certainly go with Mr. Hopson and his company of 150 in their determination

Educational Department
National Council for Prevention of War,
532 - 17th St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

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PEACE HYMNS

(Those which cannot be found in the usual hymnal can be secured from the National Council)

"Let there be light, Lord God of Hosts!" - Vories - Tune, Pentecost
"Send down Thy truth, O God," - Edward R. Sill - Tune, Schumann
"G[illegible] of the nations, near and far,"-John Haynes Holmes--Tune, St. Agnes
"T[illegible] O Lord, true brotherhood" - Savage - Tune, Serenity
"A[illegible]fe, a simple faith," - Isaacs - Tune, Hummel
"The [illegible]ing of all good," - Edwin Markham - Tune, Banner
"Hear, [illegible]ations, and hearing obey, "-Hosmer-Adeste Fideles
"It came upon [illegible] midnight clear"
"Once to every man and nation" - James Russell Lowell - Tune, Beecher
"These things shall be! A loftier race" - J. Addington Symonds - Hendon
"[illegible]t empire" - Wm. P. Merrill - Tune, Austria
"T[illegible]ew World of Glory" - Ballantine - Russian Hymn
"O beautiful, my Country!" - Hosmer - Tune, Ewing
"God of the nations, hear our call" - Vera Campbell - Tune, Ward
"A[illegible] there dawns the glorious day" - Ozora S. Davis - Warrior
O hear, [illegible] Nations of the Earth - Crossley - Music by Wilbur
(Eastern Music Co., 104 Asylum Street, Hartford, Conn. 25¢)
The Dawn of Peace-Roberts-Music by Batchellor. Pub. by Penn Peace Soc.
Four Hymns of Peace - Mary T. Whitney, North Weare, N. H.
Peace Benediction and Two Rounds - Publ'd by Penn. Peace Society
Hymn for Universal Peace - Words and music by Evelyn Leeds-Cole
(Publ'd by Eisenbrandt Sons, Baltimore, Maryland. 20¢)

"LORD OF HUMANITY" - Stanza for "AMERICA" - Katherine Trask

All folk upon the earth
Sprang from one common birth
Children of God.
Lord of Humanity
Teach us fraternity
Peace let the watchword be
In all the earth.

PRAYER FOR PEACE-Tune, Russian National Anthem. - Pub. by Penn Peace Society

God, the omnipotent! Thou who ordainest
Thunder Thy clarion and lightning Thy sword;
Show forth Thy pity on high, where Thou reignest;
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord!

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STATEMENT ON ARMAMENTS

Swollen armaments in the world today are not only the result of international insecurity; they are also direct psychological and economic incentives to war, dictatorship and depression.

Sir Edward Grey and other authorities have shown how the race in armaments which preceded the World War was a major cause in precipitating that catastrophe. The unwillingness of the Allied victors effectively to reduce their armaments in the post-war decade following Versailles was, it can now be seen, a powerful incentive first to Russia and then to Germany to match existing armaments with "defensive" preparations of their own. This in turn has induced new armament in Great Britain, in Japan and elsewhere. Similarly the fear of attack by some armed aggressor has seized such hold throughout the world that in the year just closed the total expenditure in armament was in excess of twelve billion dollars and the total number of men permanently under arms was 8,500,000.

Such an enormous diversion of wealth and labor will not only produce no goods that minister to the needs and welfare of the masses, but it will inevitably through burdensome taxation and in other ways soon depress the people's standard of living. In existing circumstances, if it does not lead to a speedy explosion of war, it will inescapably bring about inflation, a crash at the end of the war-industries boom, and world-spreading economic devastation. Fascism or some kindred form of economic or national tyranny is then the most likely outcome. Therefore any increased employment or prosperity which might at first seem to accrue to a community from large Government expenditures for armament, will be purchased at a deadly price. No liberalization of trade, no economic recovery between nations can be expected to occur if the present mad race in armaments continues.

In the light of these facts we call upon the Administration, the Congress and the people of the United States to consider well if they would join this dance of poverty and death. Before another dollar is appropriated for increase of our armed forces should there not be a searching examination and rethinking by the people and the Government as to the right line of policy for a really efficient national defense? Must America follow the blind lead of Europe and Japan? Are we perhaps so fortunately circumstanced by our position in the New World, bounded by two great oceans and frontiers of friendship to the North and to the South, that we could break through the vicious circle of fears and mounting armaments in which Europe is tragically held? While we are endeavoring to lower trade barriers by reciprocal agreements could we not make a parallel and equally persistent attempt to decrease armaments? Do not the times call for a bold forward lead in this direction? We believe they do.

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CEREMONY OF IVY PLANTING AND DOVE FLYING

A Symbolism for Peace
Prepared by Rev. Allen Keedy
First Congregational Church, New Bedford, Mass.

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SUPERINTENDENT: This is the last day of our Vacation School, and before we depart we want to leave a plant here (corner of Church) so that in the future as it grows we shall remember our school.

Peace Responsive Reading, as on p. 60-61 in "Through the Gateway," by Florence Brewer Boeckel (NCPW, 50¢) given by child and school in response.

FIRST CHILD: This is the ivy, which we take to symbolize the spirit of peace. We choose it because it is green like the grass loved in all countries, and because it is fresh like our new hopes for peace.

SECOND CHILD: With this trowel we shall prepare the earth to receive the ivy, as we have prepared our hearts to receive the spirit of peace. (he digs in earth)

THIRD CHILD: With this earth we shall preserve the ivy against storms, as we intend to preserve the spirit of peace against the spirit of war. (He piles the earth in)

FOURTH CHILD: With this water we shall nourish the ivy to grow, as we expect to have the spirit of peace grow within us, becoming stronger and more beautiful as the years go by. (He pours the water on)

The whole school sings first verse of "New America," p. 12 in "World Peace Program" by Elizabeth S. Samson of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches. (To be ordered from Mrs. Harry G. Samson, Morewood Gardens Apts., Pittsburgh, Pa., 15¢.)

FIFTH CHILD: We are now to separate and go on our way. But before we go we set free this dove, a symbol of peace. Let us hope that as the dove flies forth into the world we, too, shall go forth into the world and spread our message of peace. (Releases live dove from a little pen)

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JESUS CHRIST'S PLEA FOR WORLD PEACE

by

Corinne Locke Bercus

(As given in the Cathedral of the Incarnation, Garden City, Long Island)

Processional - "O Come All Ye Faithful" - Portugese

Opening Service

Brief remarks by pastor concerning pageantry and its use and a word of explanation about the peace lanterns used in this pageant - the two Greek letters X R standing for Christ.

Offering - (during which the congregation will sing) "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear" - Willis

THE PAGEANT

The church is darkened.

Trumpeters play Hallelulia Fanfare from "The Messiah" - Handel.

Choir sings very softly "O Little Town of Bethlehem" while angels, Mary, Joseph and children in national costumes of many lands take their places around the manger.

Waifs enter from side, carrying old lanterns, look around but do not see the manger. They recite together the oldest existing carol.

"Lordlings listen to our lay;
We have come from far away
To seek Christmas.
In this mansion we are told
He His yearly feast doth hold
'Tis today!
May joy come from God above
To all those who Christmas love." (13th century)

Choir and angels sing(back and forth) "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing."-Mendelssohn. (Waifs are now attracted to the manger and join the others there.)

Shepherds (3 left and 3 right) enter and stand guard over the Christ Child. As they come in, the children of many lands sing - "Ye Shephords Leave the Care of Flocks So Fleecy".(Old French)

The Kings enter from right singing "We Three Kings."

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THE WORLD HAS CHANGED

IN TERMS OF TIME OF TRAVEL FROM PLACE TO PLACE
THE WORLD HAS SHRUNK

It was this size
in
1830

It is this size
in
1938

WAR DID NOT MEAN

in this world	what it means	in this world
1807 - First steamboat was operated on the Hudson by Fulton.		
1819 - First steamer crossed the Atlantic, helped by sails.		
1831 - First steam passenger locomotive was operated in America.		
1844 - The telegraph was invented by Morse.		
1866 - Cable communication was established across the Atlantic.		
1876 - The telephone was invented by Bell.		
1894 - Automobiles were developing and were successfully operated.		
1896 - Wireless communication was established by Marconi.		
1903 - A heavier-than-air machine was flown by the Wright brothers.		
1907 - First wireless dispatch was sent across the Atlantic.		
1926 - Telephone-radio conversations were held across the Atlantic.		
1927 - Lindbergh crossed from New York to Paris by air in 33-1/2 hours.		
1930 - International broadcasts developed.		
1931 - Telephone conversation relayed around the world.		
1932 - 42 countries in touch by telephone.		
1933 - Messages written at distant points reproduced by television.		
1934 - Photographs of news events transmitted by wire.		

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SUGGESTIONS AS TO MATERIAL ON WORLD FRIENDSHIP FOR SUNDAY SCHOOLS

(Items which can be obtained from the National Council for Prevention of War, 532-17 St., Washington, D.C., are marked NCPW)

I. GENERAL

Let Us Teach Peace. Materials for Teachers and Leaders of Children in Church Schools and in Homes (bibliography of stories, hymns, plays, units of study, posters, etc.). Children's Division of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, 71 W. 23rd St., New York City. Free upon request.

Program Suggestions for World Peace. Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd St., N.Y., 10¢. Suggestions for peace action (a) for the local church, (b) for the churches of the community, (c) for the individual; bibliography; list of plays.

Services of Worship for World Understanding and Peace. Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd St., N.Y., 15¢. Services of worship, responsive readings, prayers, hymns, sermon texts, and selections for special music and benedictions.

Can the World's Youth Break the War Habit? Program IV in "Workers on World-Wide Social Frontiers," by Charles W. Miller. Congregational Education Society, 14 Beacon St., Boston, 10¢.

Bulletin of the Pilgrim Fellowship, Christian Youth Building a New World. Young People's Dept., Congregational Education Society, 14 Beacon St., Boston, 5¢.

The Peace Primer. Commission on International Relations, Congregational and Christian Churches, [illegible] Fourth Ave., N.Y., 10¢.

Educating for Peace, Lobingier. Pilgrim Press, Chicago, 1930, $1.50.

Package of Church Material, including hymns, prayers, sermons, etc., NCPW, 10¢.

Varied material available through Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Ave., N.Y.C., and through Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.

Catalogue of the Missionary Education Movement, 150-5th Ave., N.Y. Excellent and varied material for promoting international understanding. Sent on request.

II. SERVICES AND PROGRAMS FOR SPECIAL DAYS

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PRAYERS

Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace, and the advocate of peace in the councils of nations. May contentment reign within its borders, health and happiness within its homes. Strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellowship between all the inhabitants of our land. Plant virtue in every soul, and may the love of Thy name hallow every home and every heart. Praised be Thou, O Lord, Giver of peace.

- From the Union Prayer Book published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

A HUMANISTIC PRAYER

Forgive me, O Brothers of Men, for my sins against the Spirit of Love that would bind us together in one great family of peace. How often have I left that undone which might have promoted the glorious consummation of our dream! Timidity, even deadly fears, have bound my soul and tied my tongue so that I failed to speak the word of light. I was afraid of the darkness that is in us all; I trusted not the love of truth which in everyone of us will claim the final victory. Now there dawns in me a new courage. I have faith in you, O Sons of Men, and in the Brave Spirit born in you, impelling you forward, ever forward and upward, toward the city of eternal love. Forgive me, and let me now become your unfailing servant forever and ever. Amen.

- Raymond H. Palmer.
Published in Unity, May 20, 1929.

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POSTERS, CARDS AND BLOTTERS

(Order items marked NCPW from the National Council for Prevention of War, 532-17th St., Washington, D.C.)

World Peaceways, Inc., 103 Park Avenue, New York.
Write for information in regard to many interesting posters and poster suggestions.

Peace Posters Press, P.O.Box 703, Baltimore, Md. Four posters (32 X 44) attractively printed, mailed in tube every two months, allowing for change of display every two weeks. Yearly service for 26 posters, $10.00; individual posters, 50¢; samples, 25¢.

Portfolio of World Heroes. Twelve portraits (10 X 15). NCPW, 50¢; 3 sets $1.00.

Kellogg Pact for the Renunciation of War. Poster 28 X 44, 15¢; 12 X 18, 10¢. Postcards, 1¢ each. Special quantity prices. NCPW.

America First. A new American creed by Bishop G. Ashton Oldham, NCPW, 15¢. Postcards, 1¢ each, special quantity prices.

The Child and the Globe. NCPW, 5¢.

Children from Many Lands Posters. England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, China, Japan, Holland and America. NCPW, $1.00 a set.

Christmas Posters. Two posters, NCPW, 8¢ each.

Posters for Special Days. Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Columbus Day and Christmas. National Child Welfare Association, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, 60¢.

Good Morning Prayer Poster. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Beacon Street, Boston, 25¢.

Set of 8 picture cards ridiculing war. NCPW, 1¢ each, 75¢ a hundred.

Christmas Around the World. Set of eight cards in color. NCPW, 25¢.

Cartoon Cards for distribution at meeting with text on back. Postcard size. "Armaments Do Not Give Security."

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LANTERN SLIDES

The Youth Unit of the League of Nations Society, Toronto Branch, has a series of lantern slides, entitled War Profiteers or Humanity, suitable for use by Young People's Groups. They are made up of pictures of the League of Nations and of cartoons relative to International Peace and Disarmament. A peppy line of running comment accompanies them. There are 50 slides in all and they may be rented for $1.00 plus transportation both ways. Apply to: Miss Jeannette Johnson, 20 Edgar Avenue, Toronto, Ontario.

Showing Progress and Interdependence of Civilization

Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. Sets on agriculture, science, geography, economics, industry, etc. Average fee for rental 50¢ plus transportation charges.

Keystone View Company, Meadville, Pa. The 600 Set, including slides on production and manufacturing, transportation, people of all lands, earth neighbors, scenes from North America, South America, Central America, West Indies, Polar Regions, Europe, British Isles, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Islands. Set, $270; 45¢ per slide.

U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. Bureau of Reclamation. Slides showing man's contest with nature and heroism of everyday life, including:

- The Story of Reclamation by Irrigation from the Sagebrush Desert to the Completed Farm, with lecture.
- Zoology and Botany on the Irrigation Projects, with lecture.
- Indian Life on the Projects, with lecture.
- Drainage in the Southern States, no lecture. Free except for transportation charges.

Views of Other Nations

Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. South American countries.

Peace Committee of the Religious Society of Friends, 304 Arch St, Philadelphia. A Trip to Japan, with lecture; People of Palestine, with lecture; Founding of Pennsylvania, with lecture. Transportation charges.

Williams, Brown & Earle, Inc., 918 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Scenes from European countries, South America, Latin America, Egypt and the United States. Rental charge, 10¢ per slide.

War Scenes

Keystone View Company, Meadville, Pa. Battlefield Scenes, actual war scenes. Black and white finish, 45¢ per slide.

Radiguet and Massiot, 15 Boulevard des Filles-du-Calvaire, Paris. Battlefield Scenes, actual war scenes.

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CHURCH SERVICE AS FOLLOWED IN THE METHODIST CHURCH, LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

THEME: Peace Among the Nations of the World

Prelude:

Call to worship: "Peace be within these walls,
Peace to young and old who enter here.
Hasten the time, O Lord God, when not alone
the holy places where thine honor dwelleth,
but the whole earth shall be full of thy glory."

Hymn: Tune, Adeste Fideles—O Come All Ye Faithful. No. 83.

1.

Hear, hear, O ye nations and hearing obey
The cry from the past and the call of today!
Earth wearies and wastes with her fresh life outpoured
The glut of the cannon, the spoil of the sword.

2.

Lo, dawns a new ers, transcending the old,
The poet's rapt vision, by prophets foretold!
From war's grim tradition it maketh appeal
To service of all in a world's commonweal.

3.

Then, then shall the empire of right over wrong
Be shield to the weak and curb to the strong;
Then justice prevail and the battle-flags furled,
The high courts of nations give law to the world.

4.

And thou, O my country, from many made one.
Last-born of the nations, at morning thy sun,
Arise to the place thou art given to fill,
And lead the world-trimph of peace and goodwill.— Amen.

SCRIPTURE: From the Ancient Prophets

Leader: Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness,
And He shall bring forth justice to the nations.

ASSEMBLY: HE SHALL STAND AND SHALL FEED HIS FLOCK IN THE STRENGTH OF THE LORD, IN THE MAJESTY OF THE NAME OF THE LORD, HIS GOD.

Leader: And this man shall be our peace; and He shall teach us His ways and we will walk in his paths.

ASSEMBLY: AND HE SHALL JUDGE BETWEEN THE NATIONS, AND ARBITRATE FOR MANY